This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

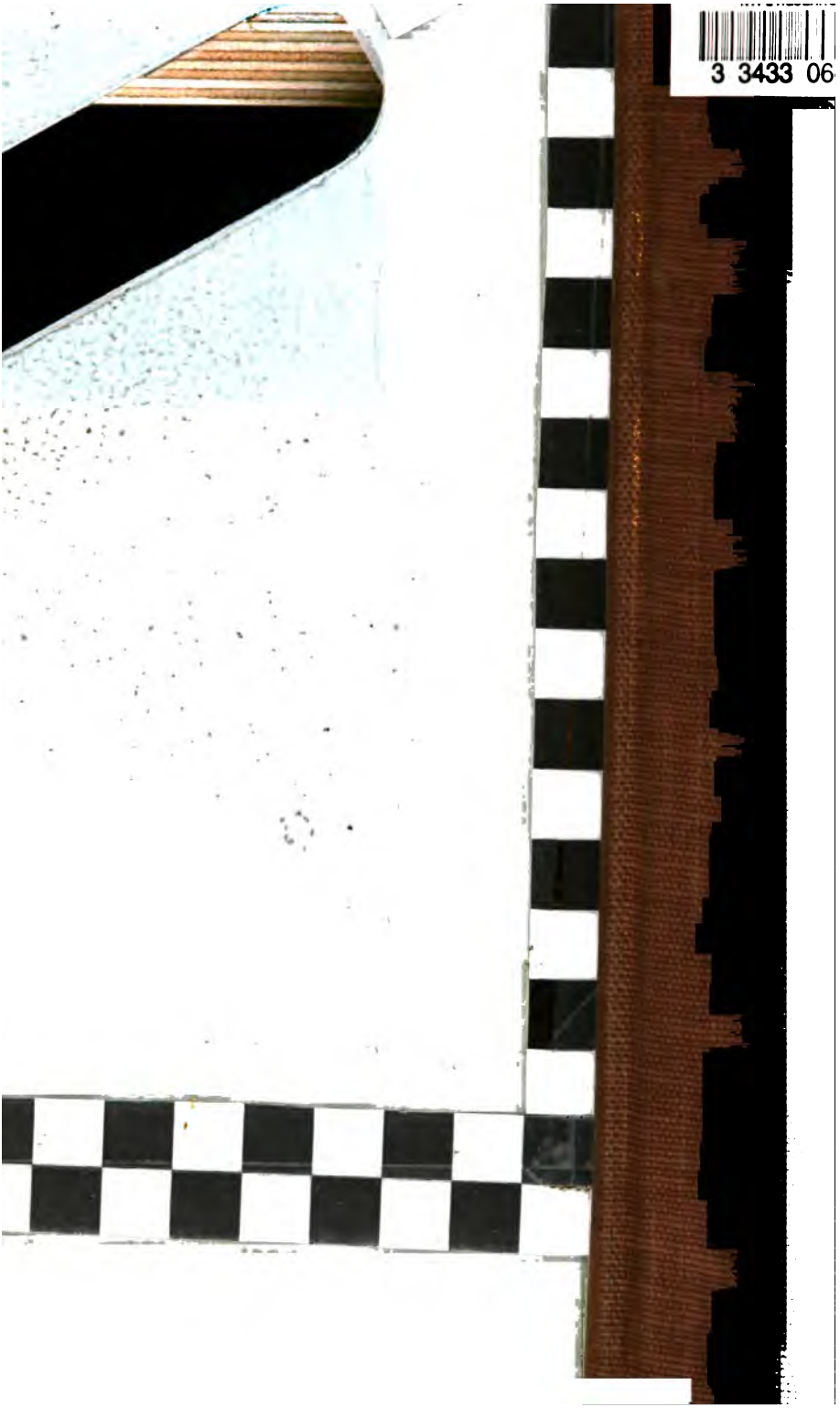
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

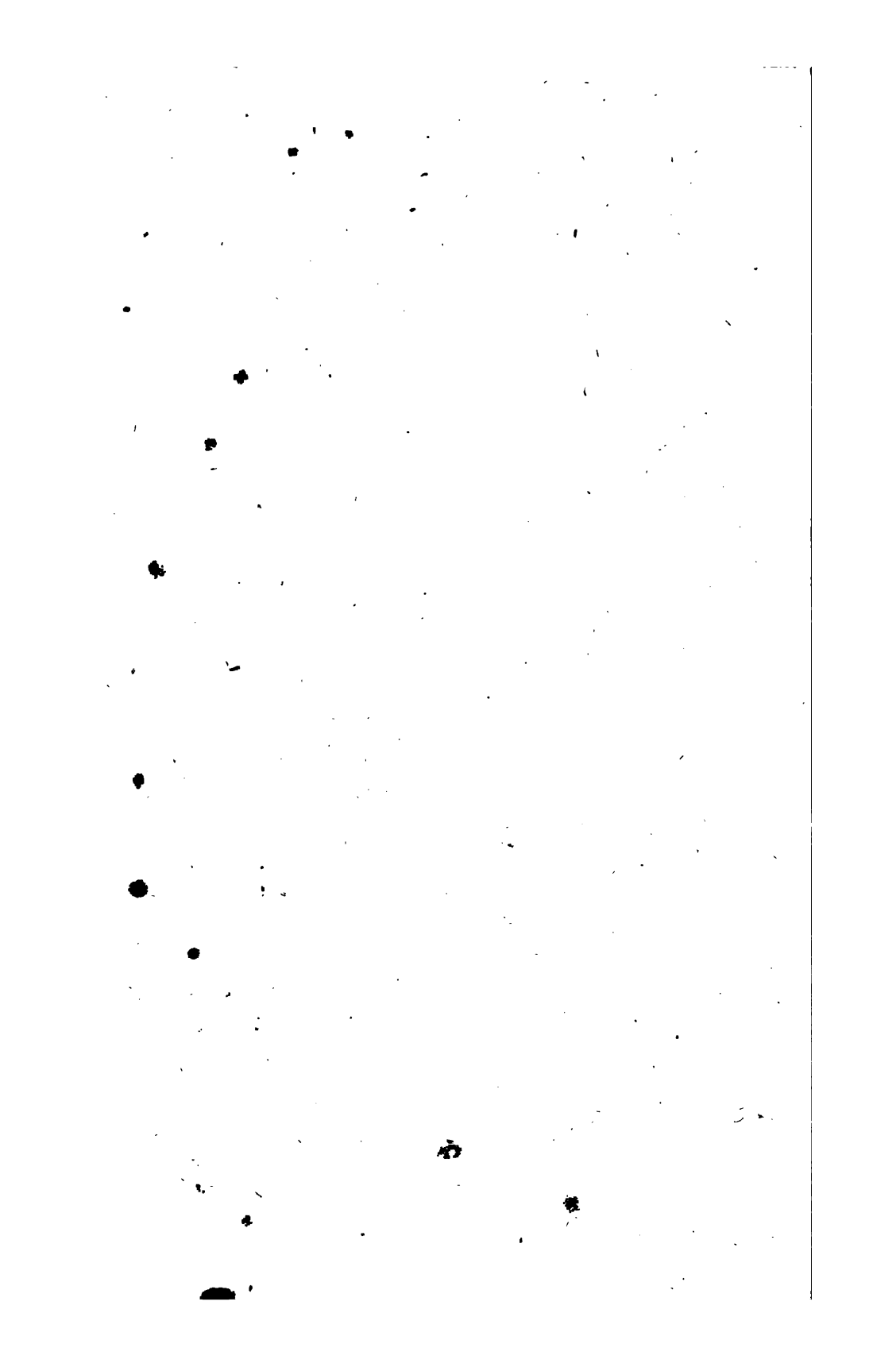
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NYPL RESEARCH LIBRARIES
3 3433 06665862 0


3 3433 06



MEMOIRS

OF THE

KINGS OF GREAT BRITAIN

OF THE HOUSE OF

BRUNSWIC-LUNENBURG.

BY W. BELSHAM.

VOL. II,

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse referenda ab iis qui præsunt, aliis, ut ii qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quàm beatissimi. CICERO.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

1793.

28580

K. GEORGE II.

CONTINUED.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Treaty of Seville, concluded ſo long ſince as the year 1729, the Spaniards had never deſiſted from the commiſſion of thoſe inſults and depredations, for the prevention of which it was chiefly and profeſſedly made. They were even emboldened by the phlegmatic indifference, or puſillanimity, of the Engliſh Miniſter, to proceed to ſtill farther extremities. They now therefore diſputed the right of the Engliſh traders to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy, and to gather ſalt in the iſland of Tortuga, though of antient and eſtabliſhed practiſe, and never before called in queſtion. On pretence of the illicit commerce carried on by the

Britiſh Weſt India Iſlands with the Spaniſh Main—and which, however contrary to the abſurd policy of Spain, was doubtleſs equally neceſſary and beneficial to both countries—armed veſſels, known by the name of *Guarda-Coſtas*, were ſtationed in the uſual track of commercial intercourſe, which on the plea of ſearching for contraband goods, ſeized, plundered, and inſolently detained, a great number of Britiſh merchant-ſhips at their diſcretion; and, without regarding the faith of nations, impriſoning the crews, and confiſcating the cargoes. The repeated memorials preſented by the Britiſh Ambaſſador at the Court of Madrid produced no ſort of effect. Evaſive anſwers, vague promiſes of inquiry, and cedulas of inſtructions ſent to the Spaniſh Governors in America, intended merely to amuſe, were all the advances which were made towards reparation and redreſs. The nation ſeemed at length fired with a general and juſt reſentment at theſe outrages. Petitions were preſented to Parliament in the ſeſſion of 1738, from the mercantile towns and cities, ſtating the violences to which they had been expoſed, and imploring relief and protection. The Houſe, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counſel for the merchants, and to examine evidence; in the courſe of which it appeared, that the moſt horrid and wanton acts of cruelty had in various inſtances been perpetrated by the Spaniards on the ſubjects of Great

Britain. One Jenkins, who appeared on this occaſion at the bar of the Houſe, gave a ſimple and affecting narrative of the ſavage treatment he had met with from the captain of a Spaniſh guarda-coſta, who, after exhauſting his invention in various modes of torture, tore off one of his ears, and bade him carry it to his King, adding withal many contumelious and opprobrious expreſſions. Deſpairing to eſcape alive from the hands of this barbarian, he recommended, he ſaid, his ſoul to God, and the revenge of his wrongs to his country. The Houſe, ſcarcely leſs inflamed than the populace with this recital, voted an unanimous addreſs to the King, "beſeeching his Majeſty to uſe his endeavors to obtain effectual relief for his injured ſubjects, to convince the Court of Spain that his Majeſty could no longer ſuffer ſuch conſtant and repeated inſults and injuries to be carried on to the diſhonor of his Crown, and to the ruin of his ſubjects—and in caſe his applications proved fruitleſs, aſſuring him, that the Houſe would effectually ſupport his Majeſty in taking ſuch meaſures as honor and juſtice ſhould make it neceſſary for him to purſue." To this addreſs, the King returned a gracious and favorable anſwer, and on the 20th of May 1738, the Parliament was prorogued.

Various motives concurred, nevertheleſs, to excite in the breaſt of the Miniſter an extreme reluc-

tance firmly to reſolve on a declaration of war. During the long courſe of his adminiſtration, it had been the conſtant and favorite object of his policy, to preſerve the kingdom from that dire calamity. He perhaps doubted his talents for conducting a war with vigor and ability; and he might reaſonably apprehend, that any diſaſtrous event in the courſe of it might endanger his authority and ſafety. He was perſuaded that the commercial intereſts affected by theſe depredations were in themſelves too trivial, and of a nature too equivocal in point of right, to warrant the nation in having recourſe to a remedy ſo violent. He well knew that the union of the two Crowns of France and Spain was ſo ſtrongly cemented, that a war with one muſt inevitably involve us in a war with the other. And it was his invariable and avowed opinion, though contradicted happily by later experience, that England alone was not equal to cope with the combined force of the Houſe of Bourbon. Poſſeſſed with theſe ſentiments, he concluded, during the receſs of Parliament, a CONVENTION with Spain, ſigned at the PARDO in Madrid; by which the King of Spain obliged himſelf to make reparation to the Britiſh ſubjects for their loſſes within a certain period; and commiſſioners were appointed "for regulating all thoſe grievances and abuſes which had interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American ſeas; and for ſettling

ting all other matters in diſpute, in ſuch a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new cauſes and pretences of complaint." When the terms of the Convention were communicated to the Parliament, which met February 1, 1739, it was treated with the moſt poignant contempt and ridicule. It was aſſerted by the oppoſition, that Spain, ſo far from giving up her groundleſs and unjuſtifiable claim of viſiting and ſearching Britiſh ſhips ſailing to and from the Britiſh plantations, openly inſiſted upon it as a matter of right; for it was merely the differences which had ariſen in the exerciſe of this pretended right, and not the right itſelf, which they had ſubmitted to diſcuſſion. So that the undoubted and indiſputable rights of England, and the inſolent uſurpations of Spain, were referred to the mediation of plenipotentiaries, as reſting upon the ſame baſis of equality. It was obſerved, that if the miniſtry had made the reſolutions taken by Parliament in the laſt ſeſſion the foundation of their demands, a deciſive anſwer muſt have been obtained; but this Convention, ſtyled a treaty, was evidently no more than a preliminary to a treaty; and a moſt injurious and diſgraceful preliminary. It was an expedient illuſory and ignominious, inſecure though abject: And an aſſertion was riſqued, which eventually proved indeed ſtrictly true, that the expence of the commiſſion would exceed the ſum ultimately

granted by Spain as an indemnification to the mercantile ſufferers*. It was alſo objected that the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of theſe plenipotentiaries, ſo that the territorial right of the infant colony of Georgia, which indubitably belonged to the Crown of Great Britain, was left open to diſpute, to the great and manifeſt diſcouragement of the ſettlers, who muſt deem themſelves placed in a moſt precarious and dangerous ſituation. The Miniſter, whoſe equanimity of temper was rarely ruffled by the bittereſt invectives, at length aroſe, and in a very able ſpeech vindicated his own conduct, and the terms of this Convention, by arguments which merit a much more impartial and diſpaſſionate attention than at this period of national delirium they could hope to obtain. "From the military glory of this empire, we are apt, ſaid this cautious and ſagacious ſtateſman, to flatter ourſelves that our arms are invincible; and the wars between England and Spain are particularly dazzling and faſcinating to the imagination. We ſee great navies defeated, great treaſures gained, and great glory acquired; and we have no lei-

* The ſum allowed by Spain as an indemnification, a very inadequate one indeed, to the Britiſh merchants, was 95,000 l.; from which, under various pretences, ſuch deductions were made, as reduced the balance to leſs than 20,000l. The Convention was ſigned at the Pardo, January 14, 1739.

ſure

ſure to reflect that the ſituation of affairs is at preſent entirely different from what it once was. Spain indeed has long ceaſed by its own unaſſiſted ſtrength to excite the dread and terror of Europe. But the very circumſtance of its internal debility has been the means of procuring the ſupport and alliance of Powers, in conjunction with whom it would be romantic to expect that it ſhould not be able to defend itſelf againſt the moſt formidable attacks of England. We know that France, who is actually connected with Spain by the cloſeſt ties of policy and of blood, has at her command vaſt armies, fleets, and revenues; and to venture the honor and intereſt of the empire againſt ſuch a combination of ſuperior forces, would, without extreme neceſſity, be not only raſh but criminal. I do not affirm that no ſuch neceſſity can ariſe; but I affirm that no ſuch neceſſity yet exiſts. France and Holland have never conteſted thoſe claims which we profeſs to regard with ſuch indignation, and of which it is pretended we ought to inſiſt upon an abſolute renunciation on the part of Spain, without even ſuffering them to become the ſubject of diſcuſſion. But in the loweſt ſtate to which Spain has been ever reduced, this claim, which from long preſcription ſhe no doubt thinks to be juſt, and perhaps eſſential to the preſervation of her American empire, has been invariably maintained. Spain is a nation ſteady to her purpoſe,

proud, fond of power, and even of the ſhadow of it—ſcrupulouſly attached to formal inquiries and diſcuſſions. Let gentlemen then lay their hands on their hearts, and ſay whether it were adviſable to offer an inſult ſo groſs—or reaſonable to expect compliance with a demand ſo imperious. No one, it is ſurely preſumable, would have been better pleaſed than myſelf, had Spain thought fit to have given up this point by a clear and poſitive renunciation. But it is certain that the moſt ſucceſsful war would ſcarcely have been able to extort this conceſſion as a preliminary to a future treaty. But by this Convention a virtual renunciation at leaſt is obtained—for Spain has conſented to indemnify the ſubjects of Great Britain for the injuries they have ſuſtained in conſequence of her pretended rights as founded upon this claim. Surely then the adminiſtration of Great Britain muſt have been mad, had they deſperately plunged their country into a war, while it was in their power to conclude a peace, of which this great, this deciſive conceſſion was to ſerve as the foundation. Was it for Great Britain to reſolve to reject all conceſſions, and to hear of no other mode of terminating this difference than that of the ſword? Could it be conſiſtent with juſt policy to leave Spain in poſſeſſion of a plea ſo plauſible, ſo likely to intereſt all the Powers of Europe in her favor, as ſuch a conduct muſt have inevitably furniſhed? Might ſhe not have

have ſaid, "I have offered ſatisfaction, I have offered indemnity, I have offered a firm and faithful obſervance of treaties; but theſe offers have been refuſed; England therefore certainly harbors ſome deep and dangerous deſign, which it is the common intereſt of nations to oppoſe and counteract." Holland doubtleſs depends upon her commerce for her ſupport and political importance, as much as ourſelves. But I am convinced that the government of that country would not have indulged the complaints of private traders ſo far as to make a public inquiry, which might have occaſioned an open rupture; nor would their Miniſters have inſiſted on immediate ſatisfaction. They know too well that very great abuſes are daily committed in the American trade. They know too well that the reſult of ſuch inquiry might and would have been very little to their advantage. It requires no great art, no great ability, in a Miniſter to purſue ſuch meaſures as might make a war inevitable. But as events depend ſo much on fortune, it is the part of a wiſe Miniſter to leave as little as poſſible to fortune. And the ſucceſs which any former Miniſter has met with from the favor of fortune, is no reaſon why a ſucceeding one ſhould tread the ſame dangerous and uncertain paths, when the ſame ends can be compaſſed in a way more ſafe and certain. I well know indeed that it is impoſſible for a Miniſter, let him adopt what mode

mode of conduct he may, to satisfy those whose invariable maxim it is, that the Minister can never be in the right, and consequently that in their uniform opposition to all his measures they can never be in the wrong. Let us suppose that a war had been precipitately declared and vigorously prosecuted. Can we not easily imagine to ourselves that we hear a systematic opposition-man violently declaiming on the benefits of peace?—telling the world that a commercial people ought ever to avoid war, as destructive to their interests even when most successful? Fair and reasonable terms, he would exclaim, have been offered. Spain has even consented to indemnify our merchants for their losses. They have proposed an amicable meeting, to adjust all points in difference—yet our ministry, far from listening to advances so reasonable and equitable, have *blundered* us into an unjust, expensive, and hazardous war. This I confess would have been *blundering*—and for the first time perhaps in the course of such an opposition, the term would have been rightly applied. Future ages however, always impartial in their censure or praise, will, I am confident, do that justice to the counsels which have produced the Convention under our discussion, which passion and prejudice now refuse. And there is even reason to believe that a short time will remove those misapprehensions respecting it, which, in consequence of the clamors of artful and malici-

ous

ous traducers, ſo many perſons of real ſenſe, candor, and probity, have unhappily been led to entertain."—At length the queſtion being put for an addreſs of approbation to the King, as moved by Mr. Horace Walpole, it was carried in the affirmative, in a Houſe conſiſting of 496 members, by a majority only of 28. The numbers being declared, Sir William Wyndham roſe and remarked, "that the addreſs was intended to convince mankind that the treaty under conſideration was a juſt and honorable treaty—but if the people refuſed implicitly to reſign their reaſon to a vote of that Houſe, and a vote ſo circumſtanced; will not Parliament loſe its authority and influence with the public? Will it not be thought that the kingdom is governed by a faction, determined at all events to ſupport the meaſures of the Miniſter? I ſhall perhaps, ſaid he, trouble you no more, but my earneſt petition to Almighty God is, that he will preſerve this people—whom he has ſo often wonderfully protected, from the impending danger which threatens the nation from without, and likewiſe FROM THAT STILL GREATER DANGER WHICH THREATENS THE CONSTITUTION FROM WITHIN. Sir Robert Walpole was upon this occaſion provoked, in bitter and paſſionate language, to recal to the recollection of the Houſe, "that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents, was twenty-five years before deeply engaged with thoſe traitors who had conſpired the deſtruction

tion of their country: That the only uſe he had made of the clemency of government then extended to him, was to endeavor its ſubverſion; and he expreſſed his hope and confidence, that ſuch treachery and ingratitude would produce an union of all true friends to our preſent happy eſtabliſhment." Agreably to the intimation previouſly given, a grand ſeceſſion of the members in oppoſition took place during the remainder of this ſeſſion, and the ſucceeding year Sir William Wyndham died, deeply regretted by the public at large, who had long forgotten his early political attachments, as one of the chief ornaments of the Britiſh ſenate and nation. In eloquence he had, by general acknowlegement, no rival but Mr. Pulteney. In the calm diſcuſſion of ordinary topics, he is indeed ſaid to have been an unintereſting and ungraceful ſpeaker; but when warmed and animated with his ſubject, he diſplayed all the fire and force of a Demoſthenes. In the Houſe of Lords the oppoſition to the Court was no leſs formidable. The Prince of Wales divided in perſon againſt the addreſs, and his example was followed by ſeventy-three Peers—thirty-nine of whom afterwards ſigned a proteſt againſt it, framed in terms of diſtinguiſhed ſpirit and ability. Towards the concluſion of the ſeſſion the Houſe of Commons voted the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds, for augmenting the forces of Great Britain in caſe of emergency. A motion

motion being made in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Bathurſt for an addreſs to know whether Spain had paid the money ſtipulated by the Convention, the time limited for the payment being now expired; the Duke of Newcaſtle acquainted the Houſe, that he was commanded by his Majeſty to inform them that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reaſon for the non-payment—Upon which Lord Carteret moved, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the Convention, a high indignity to his Majeſty, and an injuſtice to the nation. After a vehement debate the motion was evaded by the previous queſtion. And June 14, 1739, the ſeſſion was cloſed by a ſpeech from the throne, in which the King aſſured the two Houſes, "that he would not be wanting in his endeavors to vindicate and maintain the undoubted rights of the nation, and to anſwer the juſt expectations of his people." Immediately on the prorogation of Parliament, letters of marque and repriſal were iſſued againſt the Spaniards. But the Miniſter ſtill indulging a fond and lingering hope of averting that war, which was now become certain and inevitable, tranſmitted inſtructions to Mr. Keene, the Britiſh Envoy at Madrid, to declare that the King of Great Britain did not intend to be thereby underſtood to break the peace, or to deviate from the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns—and that he had it expreſsly in charge

charge to aſſure the Court of Spain, that as ſoon as the Catholic King ſhould be diſpoſed to make the juſt ſatisfaction demanded of him, repriſals ſhould ceaſe, and give way to an accommodation. To which the Marquis de Villarias, the Spaniſh Miniſter, with great dignity replied in the name of his ſovereign, "that the King of Spain neither acknowleged the right of the King of England to make repriſals, or to authorize others to make them—that his Catholic Majeſty would regard theſe repriſals as a declaration of war, and that on the firſt intelligence of ſuch act of hoſtility, Mr. Keene ſhould have notice to leave the kingdom." Lord Waldegrave, the Britiſh Ambaſſador at Paris, having communicated to the Court of Verſailles the reſolution of the King of England, Cardinal Fleury appeared much moved—and ſtyling it a *terrible reſolution*, told the Ambaſſador that he ſincerely deprecated the conſequences which there was too much reaſon to believe would be found to reſult from it. The Cardinal however, in this criſis, offered as a laſt reſort, through the medium of the French Ambaſſador in London, the mediation of France, in order to compromiſe the differences ſubſiſting between the two Crowns; at the ſame time intimating that his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, in caſe of a refuſal of his good offices, would be obliged to fulfil his engagements with Spain. To which it was replied by the Engliſh Court, that the union ſubſiſting between

tween France and Spain was too ſtrong to permit his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty to act with perfect impartiality in ſuch a mediation, and that this muſt be conſidered as a ſufficient reaſon for declining the acceptance of it. Upon which the Ambaſſador declared his preſence in London to be entirely uſeleſs, and his continuance probably of very ſhort duration. If the Miniſter be juſtly chargeable with tameneſs and puſillanimity in the conduct of his long and tedious negotiations with Spain, it muſt be acknowleged that he ſeemed determined, by the formidable preparations both naval and military, which were now made, to carry on that war with vigor and effect, into which he had entered with ſo much heſitation and reluctance, and which would have been in all probability much more effectually prevented, by the early aſſumption of a bolder and more reſolute tone, and the actual appearance of a powerful Britiſh ſquadron in the Weſt Indies, than by the numberleſs querulous and garrulous memorials preſented for a ſucceſſion of years at the Court of Madrid; which appeared to deem it ſufficient condeſcenſion to ſuffer the inceſſant repetition of the ſame unheeded tale. In the month of October 1739, war was formally declared againſt Spain: And Rear-admiral Vernon, a rough and reſolute ſeaman, having been previouſly appointed to the command of the Britiſh naval force on the Weſt India ſtation, univerſal joy was excited by the

the important intelligence which arrived early in the enſuing year, that he had taken the city of Porto-Bello on the iſthmus of Darien, with ſix ſhips only. Admiral Vernon received on this occaſion the thanks of the Houſe of Commons, and became the theme of the moſt extravagant panegyric. It was however remarked by ſome political *cynics*, that though the attempt was bold the reſiſtance was feeble, and had it not been crowned with ſucceſs by the caprice of fortune, the commander would have incurred very ſevere cenſure for making a diſplay of his valor ſo much at the expence of his diſcretion. The talents of this officer were, in conſequence of the glory acquired by this brilliant *coup-de-main*, thought equal to any undertaking. And one of the moſt formidable armaments which ever ſailed from the harbors of Great Britain, deſtined for the attack of Carthagena on the Spaniſh main, was entruſted to his care and conduct, with the higheſt confidence of ſucceſs. The command of the land forces on board the fleet, on the death of Lord Cathcart, devolved upon General Wentworth; and it ſoon appeared that the leaders of this expedition were palpably deficient in the moſt eſſential requiſites of their reſpective ſtations. Ignorance, raſhneſs, and diſſenſion, characterized all their operations: And after ſuſtaining immenſe loſs, not ſo much from the ill-concerted attacks made upon the town and its

adjoining forts, as from the tropical diſeaſes which raged amongſt the troops, they were finally compelled to a precipitate and diſgraceful retreat. And after reinforcements had been received from England, and the health of the men reſtored, nothing was attempted by the Admiral to retrieve his own reputation, or the honor of the Britiſh arms; and the nation began to be ſenſible that they had formed much too high an idea of his character *. A ſquadron under the command of Commodore Anſon was detached into the South Seas, in order to annoy the Spaniſh ſettlements in that quarter. But from the harm ſuſtained in the perpetual war of ſtorms and tempeſts, rather than the oppoſition of the enemy, the primary deſign of the expedition proved abortive. The Commodore made however a great number of rich prizes off the coaſts of Chili and Peru, which he long kept in alarm. Landing with a detachment of ſeamen and marines, he took and plundered the town of Paita, and the conſternation excited by this enterprize extended even to the city of Lima; but his force was too inconſiderable to attempt any permanent conqueſt. In croſſing the Pacific Ocean, he had the good for-

* Previous to the ſailing of this great armament for Carthagena, the Court of Verſailles again offered its mediation, declaring its willingneſs for that purpoſe to act in concert with the Courts of Vienna and Liſbon—but this offer was, probably with ſecret reluctance, rejected by the Court of London.

tune to meet with and capture a Spaniſh galleon, bound from Acapulco to the Philippines, of immenſe value; and returning by the Cape of Good-Hope to England, after a complete circumnavigation of the globe, was received with NATIONAL ACCLAMATION.

An event in which all Europe was deeply intereſted, and had ſome time paſt anxiouſly expected, at length took place October 20, 1740, in the demiſe of the Emperor CHARLES VI. the laſt heir-male of the Houſe of Auſtria Hapſburg. And, in a few days after the Emperor, expired Anne Iwanowna, Empreſs of Ruſſia, who bequeathed her crown to Iwan the infant grandſon of her elder ſiſter the Dutcheſs of Mecklenburgh. But this diſpoſition not being agreable to the Ruſſians, a revolution ſoon took place in favor of Elizabeth, youngeſt daughter of Peter the Great by the late Empreſs Catherine, who adopted the ſame general ſyſtem of policy with her predeceſſors, and governed that vaſt empire with the ſame uninterrupted ſucceſs and reputation. Notwithſtanding the famous edict ſtyled the Pragmatic Sanction, of which ſuch repeated mention has been made, and by virtue of which almoſt all the Powers of Europe had guaranteed the poſſeſſions of the Houſe of Auſtria to the Arch-dutcheſs Maria Thereſa, now aſſuming the title of Queen of Hungary, the death of the Emperor ſeemed as a ſignal to ſet the world in arms.

arms. Frederic King of Pruſſia,—who had a few months only previous to this event acceded to the throne of his father,—to the aſtoniſhment of the Court of Vienna, advanced a dormant and antiquated claim to certain diſtricts of the Dutchy of Sileſia; and in order to ſupply all deficiency of argument, he marched a formidable army into that province, and after a rapid ſucceſſion of conqueſts made his public entry into Breſlau the capital—the Queen of Hungary having rejected with diſdain the offer he made to advance a large ſum for her immediate accommodation, and aſſiſt her with all his forces againſt whatever enemies might ariſe, in order to obtain her conſent to the ceſſion of the territory in queſtion. Till this period it is to be remarked, that Pruſſia had ſcarcely been numbered amongſt the Powers of Europe; and had never been deemed of ſufficient conſequence to take any other than a ſubordinate, or ſecondary part, in the contentions of the Continent. It was not without long and urgent ſolicitation that the Emperor Leopold had conſented to confer the title of KING upon the Marquiſſes of Brandenburg; and, as it is ſaid, expreſsly againſt the advice and remonſtrance of Prince Eugene, who warned the Emperor that he was raiſing up a rival to himſelf; and that the acquiſition of the royal title would probably incite to future dangerous ſchemes and projects of ag-

grandizement *. The late King of Pruſſia was a man capricious, ignorant, and brutal. The relentleſs deſpotiſm which he exerciſed over his ſubjects led him to increaſe the number, and to pay the cloſeſt attention to the diſcipline, of his troops; and his inſatiable avarice prompted him to the conſtant accumulation of treaſure, gradually riſing in a long ſucceſſion of years to an immenſe amount, and procured by every ſpecies of rapine and extortion. And thus the new Monarch, who had ſought for refuge from the tyrannic jealouſy of his father in the ſhades of retirement, and who had ſtrongly ex-

* The King of Pruſſia himſelf, with his characteriſtic frankneſs, ſays, "Frederic I. en érigeant la Pruſſe en Royaume avoit par cette vaine grandeur mis un germe d'ambition dans ſa poſtérité qui devoit fructifier tôt ou tard." The King determined, as he tells us, on a mature conſideration of the forlorn ſituation of Auſtria, whoſe finances were miſerably deranged, whoſe armies were ruined by the late unſucceſsful war with Turkey, and which was now governed by a young Princeſs without experience, under the additional diſadvantage of a doubtful title—to aſſert what he is pleaſed to ſtyle his *inconteſtable rights* to Sileſia. Though ſo chimerical did his claims appear to the Court of Vienna, that when, in conſequence of the military preparations actually carrying on in the Pruſſian dominions, M. Damrath, the Imperial Envoy at Berlin, warned his Court that a ſtorm was gathering which might poſſibly burſt over that province, the Council of the Queen replied, "Nous ne voulons ni ne pouvons ajouter foi aux nouvelles que vous nous mandez."

Oeuvres de Frederic II.

cited

cited the attention of Europe, by an uncommon diſplay of talents even in that obſcure and ſequeſtered retreat, now found himſelf in a condition to undertake the boldeſt deſigns which intereſt or ambition could ſuggeſt. The Elector of Bavaria refuſed to acknowlege the title of the Queen of Hungary, alleging that the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia belonged to him as the rightful heir of the Emperor Ferdinand I. The King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, unmindful of his obligations to the late Emperor, claimed the whole Auſtrian ſucceſſion in right of his mother, daughter of the Emperor Joſeph. And France reſolving to embrace the favorable moment for which ſhe had long and anxiouſly waited, to abaſe the pride and annihilate the power of her antient rival, entered into engagements with the Elector of Bavaria, with a view to elevate this Prince to the Imperial throne, and to enable him, in concert with the Houſes of Brandenburg and Saxony, to ſeize and divide the Germanic dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria; the object of the confederacy being to confine the power of the Queen of Hungary within the narrow limits of that remote kingdom. Spain alſo, deſirous of a ſhare of the ſpoils, boldly advanced her pretenſions to the Italian dominions of Auſtria: And the Queen of Spain, heireſs of the Houſe of Farneſe, a woman of daring ambition, who gloried, like Catherine of Medicis, in ſtyling

herſelf the *Mother of Kings*, entertained the project of erecting theſe dominions into a Monarchy, under the title of the Kingdom of Lombardy, in favor of her youngeſt ſon the Infant Don Philip, brother to Don Carlos King of the Sicilies, who alſo became a willing party in this formidable confederacy againſt the Imperial Houſe; in the general wreck of which, the Auſtrian Netherlands were allotted to France. The treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded in the ſpring of 1741, between France and Bavaria—a powerful army under Mareſchal Maillebois marching at the ſame time into Weſtphalia, in order to over-awe the Electorate of Hanover. And the King of England, then at Hanover, thought proper to countermand the march of the Danes and Heſſians in the pay of Great Britain, who had received orders to advance to the relief of the Queen of Hungary, and to ſign a treaty of neutrality for that Electorate, as the purchaſe of which he engaged to vote for the Elector of Bavaria, at the enſuing election of an Emperor; although this great conceſſion, by which the Imperial diadem was in appearance, and probability, for ever transferred from the Houſe of Auſtria to that of Bavaria, was obviouſly and utterly irreconcileable with the general policy of England, which had for a long ſeries of years conſidered the power of the Auſtrian family as the

the only effectual counterbalance to that of the Houſe of Bourbon.

In July 1741, the Elector of Bavaria being joined by the French forces under Mareſchal Broglio, entered the Arch-dutchy of Auſtria at the head of 70,000 men, and captured the important cities of Lintz and Paſſau. But underſtanding that Vienna was ſtrongly fortified and garriſoned, he determined to direct his march to Bohemia; and Prague ſurrendering after a ſhort reſiſtance, the Elector made his public entry into that capital, where he was proclaimed King of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the uſual ſolemnities. Notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, the Elector has been accuſed of egregious indiſcretion, in ſuffering his attention to be diverted from the ſiege of Vienna, the conqueſt of which, excluſive of the luſtre it would have reflected upon the confederate arms, muſt have materially obſtructed the communication between the Germanic and Hungarian territories of the Queen; and in its conſequences would probably have proved deciſive. Nothing however had as yet interrupted the tide of his proſperity.

The Diet of the Empire being convened at Frankfort on the Maine, the Elector was unanimouſly choſen Emperor of the Romans, February 1742, by the name of Charles VII. and a ſubſidy

of fifty Roman months granted him to defray the expenſes of the war. Reduced to the loweſt external ebb of misfortune, Maria Thereſa retired into the mountainous receſſes of Hungary, and aſſembling the States of that kingdom at Preſburg, made in perſon an eloquent and affecting ſpeech *, in which ſhe declared "that ſhe placed her ſole reliance upon their courage, fidelity, and attachment: And holding up to their view the infant Prince whom ſhe bore in her arms, conjured them to protect and defend the ſacred depoſit which ſhe entruſted to their care, and to ſhew in this criſis of danger, by the generous ardor of their loyalty, the affection and reverence which they entertained for the blood of their antient Monarchs." Moved by this uncommon ſpectacle of Imperial beauty in diſtreſs, and fired by the charms of her perſon no leſs than the energy of her ſupplication; this rude but gallant people, drawing ſuddenly their ſabres, replied with loud acclamations, "MORIAMUR PRO REGE NOSTRO MARIA THERESA." In conſequence of the powerful aid ſhe derived from the zeal of her Hungarian ſubjects, affairs ſoon began to wear a more favorable aſpect.

Early in the ſpring 1742, the Auſtrian General Count Khevenhuller, whoſe military talents entitle

* In the Latin tongue, which is familiar to the Poliſh and Hungarian nobility.

him

him to rank with the greateſt commanders, forcing the paſſes of Scardingen, marched into the Electorate of Bavaria, ravaged the whole country, and made himſelf maſter of Munich the capital. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had married the Arch-dutcheſs Marianne, ſiſter to the Queen of Hungary, entered Sileſia at the head of 50,000 men, in order to oppoſe the progreſs of the Pruſſian arms. After two fierce encounters at Molwitz and Czaſlaw, in both of which the Pruſſians had the advantage, a peace was concluded through the mediation of England at Breſlau (June 1742); by which the entire province of Sileſia, the moſt fertile, rich, and populous, in the whole extent of the Auſtrian dominions, was ceded to Pruſſia. Such was the exultation of his Pruſſian Majeſty at the concluſion of this treaty, the advantages of which ſo far exceeded his moſt ſanguine hopes and utmoſt demands at the commencement of the war, that he is ſaid to have declared himſelf willing to ſacrifice his right hand, to inſure the perpetual and faithful obſervance of it*.

* The Queen of Hungary, little aware of the extent of the combination againſt her, had not only rejected with haughtineſs the propoſals of the King of Pruſſia, but had formed a project, as was univerſally believed, with the approbation of the Court of London, for a partition of his dominions; in which the Dutchy of Magdeburgh was allotted to the King of England—the knowlege of which induced his Pruſſian Majeſty to conclude that alliance with France, by which the very exiſtence of the Houſe of Auſtria ſeemed at one time to be endangered.

In

In September following an accommodation alſo took place with Saxony, at the expenſe of ſome inconſiderable diſtricts ceded to the King of Poland. The Prince of Lorraine now advancing into Bohemia, found that the French forces, under the Mareſchals Broglio and Belleiſle, had abandoned their conqueſts on being themſelves abandoned by their allies, and had now retired under the cannon of Prague, which was immediately inveſted by the Auſtrians: And the ſiege being prolonged for many months, the French garriſon was reduced to difficulties, which the moſt invincible reſolution only could have ſuſtained. The Auſtrians, ſuppoſing that they muſt finally ſurrender at diſcretion, refuſed to liſten to terms of capitulation; but by an extraordinary effort of military ſkill and courage, the French Generals forced a paſſage through the Auſtrian army, and in the depth of winter made their retreat good to Alſace; eluding, by the ſecreſy and rapidity of their marches, all attempts to intercept them: The Emperor being reduced in his turn to the extremity of diſtreſs, retired to Francfort, where he chiefly reſided during the ſhort and wretched remainder of his life, in a ſtate of exile and indigence. In this deſtitute and forlorn ſituation however, this Prince thought fit to iſſue a commiſſorial decree againſt the Queen of Hungary, couched in terms which the pride and grandeur of Aurelian in the midſt of his triumphs over Zenobia

ſcarcely

ſcarcely had exceeded *. Referring to a former decree addreſſed to the Imperial Diet aſſembled at Francfort, and complaining of the inſult and outrage offered to the whole ROMAN EMPIRE, by the *Grand Dutcheſs of Tuſcany*, in her refuſal to acknowlege his dignity and the validity of his election, he ſays, "that he had moſt graciouſly required of that aſſembly with moſt reſplendent moderation, how and after what manner the moſt high Imperial dignity might be ſuſtained—and declaring, from the fulneſs of Imperial power, inadmiſſible and null, and utterly cancelling and rendering void the two proteſtations of the Court of Vienna of September in the preceding, and July in the preſent year, as injurious in the higheſt degree to the majeſty and ſupreme dignity of the EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS and the grandeur of the whole ROMAN EMPIRE."

On the ſide of Italy, the Spaniards, in order to carry their magnificent projects into effect, had aſſembled, in conjunction with the Neapolitans, an army of 60,000 men at Rimini, A. D. 1742, under the command of the Duc de Montemar, afterwards

* AURELIANUS Imperator Romanæ Orbis ZENOBIÆ.

Sponte facere debuiſtis id quod meis literis nunc jubetur. Deditionem præcipio impunitate vitæ propoſita, ita ut illic Zenobia cum tuis agas vitam ubi te ex Senatûs ampliſſimi ſententia collocavero. Gemmas, argentum, aurum, ſericum, equos, camelos in ærarium Romanum conferas. Palmyrenis jus ſuum ſervabitur.

ſucceeded

ſucceeded by Count de Gages, who attempted in vain to penetrate into Tuſcany. And the King of Sardinia, who dreaded with reaſon the aggrandizement of the Houſe of Bourbon in Lombardy, having declared in favor of the Houſe of Auſtria, and joined Count Traun the Auſtrian General in the Parmeſan; another Spaniſh army, under the Infant Don Philip in perſon, entered Savoy*, and took poſſeſſion of Chamberri; and though his Sardinian Majeſty returned to the defence of his own dominions at the firſt notice of this attack, he could not prevent the Spaniards from taking up their winter-quarters in Savoy. In the courſe of this campaign, the army under Count Gages was extremely weakened by the defection of the Neapolitan troops, who were recalled by a mandate of the King of Naples, iſſued in conſequence of the unexpected and unwelcome appearance of an Engliſh ſquadron in the Bay of Naples, detached by Admiral Matthews the Britiſh Commander in the Mediterranean, with the peremptory denunciation of an immediate bombardment of the city of Naples, if his Neapolitan Majeſty refuſed to ſign an explicit declaration of neutrality. The enſuing campaign in Italy did not at all advance the progreſs of the Spaniards. Count Gages having, contrary to his

* "Tell your maſter (ſaid the Queen of Spain to the Sardinian Ambaſſador on his departure from Madrid) that my ſon ſhall be a King in ſpite of all his efforts to prevent it."

better

better judgment, attacked the combined army of Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe under the command of the brave and experienced Mareſchal Traun at Campo-Santo*, was obliged to retreat with conſiderable loſs, after an engagement which commenced at ſun-riſe, and which continued till ſeven at night by the light of the moon. The Mareſchal being deſtined to yet more urgent and important ſervices in Germany, reſigned his command, September 1743, to Prince Lobkowitz. In Savoy the Infant Don Philip, reinforced by 20,000 French auxiliaries, attacked the Piedmonteſe lines at Chateau Dauphine—but was repulſed in repeated attacks with much damage; upon which the French retired into Dauphiné, and the Spaniards took refuge in their winter-quarters. In order to exhibit a connected view of this Italian war, which bears a very remote relation to the hiſtory of Great Britain, and to which it will not be neceſſary to revert, it may be proper to relate, in a few words, the principal events of the ſucceeding campaigns.

The King of Naples renouncing his compulſory profeſſion of neutrality, re-aſſembled his army in the ſummer of 1744, and openly joined Count de Gages.

* This battle was raſhly and unexpectedly fought, February 3, 1743; Count de Gages receiving poſitive orders from the Court of Madrid, to attack the enemy in three days after the arrival of the courier, or to reſign his command to Count Mariani.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz the Auſtrian General, marching through the Papal territories, advanced to the frontiers of Naples; and publiſhed, though with little effect, a manifeſto to exhort the Neapolitans to ſhake off the Spaniſh yoke, and return to the dominion of the Houſe of Auſtria. Count Brown being ſecretly detached by the Auſtrian Commander to attack the town of Velletri, where the King of Naples had eſtabliſhed his quarters in a ſtate of perfect apparent ſecurity, ſo ſucceſsfully executed his commiſſion, that his Neapolitan Majeſty eſcaped in the darkneſs of the night, through a poſtern, with great difficulty. But Count de Gages repairing to the poſt in perſon, with great preſence of mind rallied the troops, and at length compelled the Auſtrian General to ſound a retreat. The Imperial army having ſuffered much from the exceſſive heats of the ſummer, and the conſequent epidemical diſeaſes of an unaccuſtomed climate, decamped in November, in order to take up their winter-quarters in Parma. Scarcely had the Auſtrian Commander paſſed the Tiber, and loſt ſight of the walls of Rome, but his antagoniſt Count de Gages, accompanied by his Neapolitan Majeſty, entered that city—but finding the bridges broken down, they deſiſted from the purſuit; and the Holy Father received both theſe contending powers with the ſame external demonſtrations of joy and affection.

In Savoy the Infant Don Philip being joined by his allies the French, attacked the King of Sardinia, though ſtrongly entrenched amidſt the mountains of Villa-Franca; and after an obſtinate engagement, this Monarch, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to abandon his poſts, and to embark on board the Britiſh ſquadron then cruizing off the coaſt, which tranſported him and his troops to Vado. Don Philip now prepared to penetrate through the territories of Genoa to the Milaneſe; but the Britiſh Commander, Admiral Matthews, declared that the King of England would conſider the permiſſion of the republic as a violation of their neutrality. The Spaniards therefore defiled towards Piedmont, and forced the ſtrong poſt of Chateau-Dauphine, defended by the King of Sardinia in perſon, who now retreated to Saluces in order to cover his capital, while the combined army inveſted the ſtrong and important fortreſs of Coni. Had this enterprize ſucceeded, the Sardinian Monarch would have been reduced to a very critical ſituation: But Baron Leutrum the Governor made ſo gallant a defence, that the Infant and the Prince of Conti, who commanded the French army, were compelled to raiſe the ſiege at the approach of winter, and to retire with great precipitation to the frontiers of France.

The campaign of 1745 proved ſtill more diſaſtrous and alarming: For Count de Gages, at the head

head of the Spaniſh and Neapolitan forces, paſſed the Appenines, and directing his march through the territories of Genoa, which—in conſequence of provocations no patience could endure—had now joined the confederacy, accompliſhed a junction with the army of the Infant Don Philip; and the Auſtrians retiring before them, the Milaneſe, Parma, and Placentia, ſubmitted to the dominion of Spain. All Piedmont on both ſides the Po was likewiſe reduced, and Turin itſelf menaced with a ſiege; yet the King of Sardinia adhered with unſhaken fidelity to his engagements, and rejected with heroic firmneſs all propoſals of a ſeparate accommodation.

In the memorable march of Count Gages, whoſe paſſage over the Appenines was compared by the Italians to that of Hannibal over the Alps; nothing, as the hiſtorian Buonamici informs us, appeared ſo ſurprizing as the plenty which the army of that General found, when ſinking under the preſſure of diſtreſs, at their entrance into the territories of the republic of Lucca, though in point of natural fertility far inferior to the countries they had traverſed. The roads from all the ſurrounding villages were crowded with carriages, conveying forage and proviſions into the camp, at a ſeaſon of the year when it might have been imagined that the public ſtores were exhauſted. And it was ſeen and felt with irreſiſtible conviction,

tion, that the miſery or happineſs of the ſubject ariſes not from the nature of the ſoil, but of the government*.

In the enſuing year, 1746, fortune, ever capricious and inconſtant, began once more to ſmile upon this Prince, when apparently reduced to the very verge of ruin. The Court of Vienna being no longer preſſed on the ſide of Germany, ſent powerful reinforcements into Italy, and the coffers of his Sardinian Majeſty being amply repleniſhed with Britiſh ſubſidies, he was enabled to take the field with redoubled force. Early in the ſpring Baron Leutrum, the Piedmonteſe General, recovered Aſte, Alleſandria, and Caſal; Mareſchal Maillebois, who now commanded the French armies, retiring into the Genoeſe territories. On the other ſide, Count de Gages and Don Philip were compelled to abandon Milan, Pavia, and Parma, and retreat to Placentia, where, in the month of June, they were joined by Mareſchal Maillebois. In conſequence of this junction, the Infant, finding himſelf at the

* The difference between the general ſtate and condition of the people under deſpotic and republican governments, however modified, forces itſelf upon the obſervation. "I know very well," ſays a writer of diſcernment, "that the republics of Genoa and Venice are not in general allowed to be free States. M. Monteſquieu has demonſtrated, that they are not free. But there is undoubtedly ſome excellence in them which has eſcaped this wiſe man, for the contraſt between theſe and the neighboring States is very remarkable."

head of 50,000 men, determined to attack the Auſtrians in their camp at San Lazaro, but met with a moſt ſevere repulſe; and the Auſtrians purſuing their victory, in their turn attacked the enemy, Auguſt 10, near the town of Tortona, on the ſouthern banks of the Po, the paſſage of which the combined armies of French and Spaniards effected not without great difficulty and loſs. The Infant was, in conſequence of this ſecond defeat, compelled to abandon the city of Placentia, containing immenſe magazines of ammunition and military ſtores; and retreating towards Genoa, after a ſhort interval quitted the territories of the republic, and took the route of Provence. Genoa was now compelled to ſurrender to the Auſtrians, who exerciſed the rights of conqueſt with ſuch mercileſs rigor, that the Genoeſe flew to arms, and in a ſhort time, with a courage worthy of their antient fame, totally expelled their oppreſſors. Whilſt the Imperial Generals kept poſſeſſion of Genoa, the bank of St. George was exhauſted by the enormous contributions levied by the Auſtrians, who boaſted that the wealth of this proud city was theirs, and that Genoa would in a ſhort time be deluged in blood. And General Botta, the Auſtrian Commander, is ſaid to have told the Genoeſe deputies, who pathetically pleaded for the mitigation of their ſufferings, that he would leave them nothing except their eyes, to behold the deſtruction of their country, and to weep over its ruins.

In

In April 1747, the French, under Mareſchal Belleiſle, once more croſſed the Var, and took poſſeſſion of Nice, Montalban, Villa-Franca, and Ventmiglia, almoſt without reſiſtance, the Auſtrians and Piedmonteſe being employed in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. On ſummoning the citizens to ſurrender, they replied with that ſpirit which almoſt invariably animates and pervades all claſſes of men living under a republican form of government, "that they would defend their liberty with the laſt drop of their blood, and would rather be buried in the ruins of their capital, than ſubmit to the *clemency* of the Court of Vienna." Count Schuylenburg, the Auſtrian Commander, who conducted the operations of the ſiege with great ſkill and vigor, was at length induced reluctantly to liſten to the remonſtrances of the King of Sardinia, who repreſented to him the neceſſity of abandoning his enterprize in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of the Mareſchal de Belleiſle. But the Chevalier de Belleiſle, brother to the Mareſchal, attempting to force the important paſs of Exiles, was repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter; and ſeizing a pair of colors, with a reſolution, on the renewal of the attack, to plant them with his own hand upon the ramparts, he was ſhot dead with a muſquet ball. The troops immediately gave way in the utmoſt confuſion, and the Mareſchal, informed of this diſaſter, retreated back to the Var, and his Sardinian Majeſty menaced

Dauphiné with an invaſion in his turn; but exceſſive rains prevented the execution of his deſign.

The ſucceeding campaign (A. D. 1748), which was the laſt of the war, was diſtinguiſhed by no very material tranſaction; the near proſpect of peace rendering it equally unadviſable on both ſides to riſque any hazardous enterprize. And the Infant Don Philip was by one of the articles of the Treaty put into poſſeſſion of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla—the King of Sardinia receiving, in conformity to a previous agreement with the Queen of Hungary, and as a juſt remuneration for the fidelity and attachment he had diſcovered to the intereſts, and the courage he had diſplayed in the defence, of the Houſe of Auſtria, ſome contiguous diſtricts of Novara and the Milaneſe. As ſoon as certain intelligence had arrived, that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was ſigned, the Britiſh Admiral acquainted the Senate of Genoa of that event, in a meſſage delivered by one of his captains, who had at the ſame time expreſs orders to aſſure the republic how great was the admiration he entertained of the fortitude and valor diſplayed by them in the defence of their liberties. "Such, ſays the Italian hiſtorian, is the magnanimity of the Britiſh nation*."

It is now high time to advert to the ſituation of Great Britain, and to trace the mazes of that po-

* Buonamici's Commentaries, Book IV.

licy

licy by which ſhe became a principal in this deſtructive war, which, had ſhe conſulted her proper intereſts, would ſcarcely have involved her as an auxiliary. The oppoſition exulted much in the royal declaration of war againſt Spain, which they affirmed to be an echo of their reaſonings and arguments againſt the Convention; although the truths it contained were at that time poſitively denied by the Miniſter and his adherents—and ſince that time not one event had happened which was not by his opponents previouſly foretold.

The ſeſſion which commenced November 1739, cloſed April 29, 1740, without producing any remarkable event. The Penſion Bill was, according to almoſt annual cuſtom, paſſed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords. But the Place Bill, which was again introduced with many judicious modifications and numerous exceptions, was thrown out by a very ſmall majority of the Commons in a very full Houſe, the numbers being 222 to 206. As it was clearly perceived that the Court was forced into the preſent conteſt againſt Spain, the great popularity of the war did not at all diminiſh, or rather it tended to heighten, the unpopularity of the Miniſter. After the capture of Porto-Bello, and the ill-conducted attempt on Carthagena, the ſpirit of enterprize ſeemed no more—the fleets of Spain ſailed unmoleſted from their harbors, though Britiſh ſquadrons were ſtationed off the Spaniſh coaſts, for the profeſſed purpoſe of

intercepting them. Commerce was interrupted by the numbers of ſeamen preſſed into the ſervice of government—and ſtill more by the incredible number of prizes taken by the Spaniſh privateers. The diſcontents of the merchants were unneceſſarily inflamed by the raſh and paſſionate anſwer of Sir Charles Wager, who, when a memorial was preſented to him as firſt Lord of the Admiralty, for protection and redreſs,—replied, "it is your own war, and you muſt take it for your pains." The harbor and fortifications of Dunkirk were repaired by order of the French King, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht. A French fleet had ſailed in company with the Spaniards to the Weſt Indies, for the avowed purpoſe of protecting the Spaniſh commerce, and ſerious apprehenſions were entertained for the ſafety of Jamaica.

When the Parliament was convened in November 1740, the nation, throughout all the different ranks and deſcriptions of citizens, exhibited evident and alarming ſymptoms of diſcontent. Eager to embrace the favorable moment, Mr. Sandys, one of the leaders of oppoſition, ſoon after the commencement of the ſeſſion, notified to Sir Robert Walpole in the Houſe of Commons, his intention on the Friday following to bring forward a charge againſt him. At this unexpected intimation, the Miniſter ſeemed at firſt ſomewhat diſconcerted and ſurprized: But recovering himſelf, after a ſhort pauſe, replied "that as he was conſcious of no crime,

crime, he had no doubt of being able to make a proper defence—and laying his hand with emotion on his breaſt, he added, with Roman dignity,

——"Hic murus aheneus eſto,
Nil conſcire ſibi, nullâ palleſcere culpâ*."

On the day appointed, Mr. Sandys accordingly, at the cloſe of a long ſpeech, in which he recapitulated all the political delinquencies, real or pretended, of the Miniſter, moved, "that an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to the King, beſeeching his Majeſty that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, firſt Commiſſioner of the treaſury, &c., from his Majeſty's preſence and counſels for ever." The motion was ably ſuſtained by the members in oppoſition, particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who took a very ſevere retroſpective view of the conduct of the Miniſter, from the commencement of his adminiſtration. "By the treaty of Seville, ſaid this eloquent ſpeaker, we were very nearly driven to the perilous extremity of entering into a war with the Emperor, as the direct conſequence of our conjunction with France and Spain. But the nation took the alarm, and the Miniſter was obliged to conſult his ſafety; and this impelled him to avert the danger by a precipitate unconditional guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. But though,

* "Be this my brazen bulwark of defence,
Still to preſerve a conſcious innocence." FRANCIS.

in conſequence of this raſh meaſure, and this alone, the Emperor conſented to the introduction of Spaniſh troops into the Dutchies of Parma and Placentia, Spain performed nothing on her part of what ſhe had engaged. On the contrary, the depredations of that nation on our Weſt India commerce daily increaſed; and thus affairs ſtood when France, in alliance with Spain and Sardinia, thought fit to attack the Emperor in 1733, with an avowed deſign to ſtrip him of all his dominions in Italy. Of this attack we remained idle, though not unexpenſive, ſpectators, till we ſaw on the one hand Naples, and even Sicily, procured for him by England, at the price of a war with Spain, wreſted from the Emperor; and on the other, the Dutchy of Lorraine added to the Monarchy of France. On the firſt acceſſion of the Miniſter to the ſole direction of public affairs, there was a fair proſpect, Mr. Pulteney ſaid, of diſcharging, within a reaſonable time, every ſhilling of the public debt—but this would have diminiſhed the Miniſter's fund for corruption, and it was therefore by all means to be prevented; and the public charge was to be yearly increaſed, in order to oblige us to the alternative of applying the produce of the Sinking Fund to the current ſervice, or of contracting a new debt, equal to that which was paid off. The expenſes of the civil government were alſo ſo prodigiouſly enhanced, that a demand of £500,000 was made in

in the year 1725, to pay the debts of the Civil Liſt, though the like ſum had been granted for the ſame purpoſe but four years before. Upon his preſent Majeſty's acceſſion, an addition of £100,000 was made to the Civil Liſt, beſides £115,000 for making good a pretended deficiency in that revenue. But what furniſhed the moſt ſucceſsful pretext for increaſing the public burdens, was the famous TREATY of HANOVER, profeſſedly concluded for preventing the dangers with which Europe was threatened, from the over-grown power of the Houſe of Auſtria. Had the danger alleged been *real*, this nation ought to have been the laſt, becauſe it had certainly the leaſt, to fear. But the fact was, that the Dutch, who lay moſt expoſed, were ſo little apprehenſive of danger, that it was not without much ſolicitation, and after conſiderable delay, that they could be perſuaded to accede to this treaty. And France, to whom the alliance of Spain and the Emperor might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to appear formidable, neither choſe to incur any expenſe, nor diſcovered any ſolicitude to aſſiſt us when actually attacked by Spain in conſequence of this treaty; whereas WE took 12,0 0 Heſſians into our pay; granted ſubſidies to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, and, what was moſt extraordinary, to the Duke of Wolfenbuttle, ſix months after the preliminaries of peace with Spain and the Emperor were ſigned: And the Heſ-

Heſſians were continued in pay for ſeveral years. When a ſcheme was afterwards offered by a patriotic Member of this Houſe—Sir John Barnard—for reducing the intereſt payable upon all our public funds; it is unneceſſary to ſay by whom, and what means, that ſcheme was defeated—and conſidering how practicable a plan it was at that time, we muſt conclude that the Miniſter who oppoſed it could have no deſign that our debts ſhould be ever paid, or our taxes diminiſhed."

On this trying occaſion, Sir Robert Walpole nevertheleſs defended himſelf with ſuch vigor and ability, that the motion of Mr. Sandys was finally rejected by a very great majority. "The ſucceſſive meaſures of his adminiſtration, the Miniſter alleged, were adapted to the different exigencies of the times—they had received the repeated and unequivocal ſanction of ſucceſſive Parliaments—the ſole object of that ſyſtem of policy by which his public conduct had been regulated, was to preſerve the tranquillity of Europe, which was to be effected only by maintaining the balance of Europe.—The charge of corruption, ſo generally brought, the Miniſter as generally denied—and, to the amazement and confuſion of his friends, he poſitively challenged his accuſer to produce one ſpecific inſtance of this nature in confirmation of his accuſation. In the courſe of his ſpeech he animadverted with great ſpirit upon the indiſ-

indiſcriminate uſe of the term *patriotiſm*. A Patriot, Sir! ſaid he, addreſſing the chair—I venerate the name. But then, it is the real, and not the pretended Patriot, who is the object of my reverence. In theſe times, Sir, Patriots ſpring up like muſhrooms—I could raiſe twenty of them in a night—A Miniſter has nothing more to do, than to refuſe compliance with an unjuſt or unreaſonable demand, and up ſtarts a Patriot. But, Sir, the unprincipled efforts of ſuch Patriots I alike diſdain and deteſt." After a ſhort interval, a motion to the ſame purport with that of Mr. Sandys, was made in the Houſe of Peers by Lord Carteret, and ſupported by the Duke of Argyle, and the Lords Gower, Bathurſt, and Cheſterfield. It was negatived, but thirty Peers entered their proteſt; and the credit and authority of the Miniſter were ſenſibly impaired by theſe repeated attacks.

In April 1741, the King delivered in perſon, a ſpeech to both Houſes of Parliament, informing them that the Queen of Hungary had made a requiſition of aſſiſtance from England, agreably to the tenor of the ſubſiſting treaties—that he had ordered the Daniſh and Heſſian auxiliaries to be in readineſs to march for that purpoſe—that in this complicated and uncertain ſtate of affairs, it might become neceſſary for him to incur extraordinary expenſes for maintaining inviolate the Pragmatic Sanction, for which he truſted they would provide.

The

The Commons aſſured the King in their addreſs, "that they entirely approved of the meaſures already purſued, and that they would enable him effectually to ſupport his engagements with the Queen of Hungary." Two hundred thouſand pounds were accordingly voted upon the motion of the Miniſter, as a parliamentary grant or gratuity to that Princeſs, and £300,000 more to his Majeſty, to be employed at his diſcretion, in the manner moſt conducive to her ſervice; ſeventy thouſand men had been before voted for the army and navy, and the accuſtomed ſubſidies granted to Denmark and Heſſe Caſſel. "HONEST SHIPPEN*" only ventured to oppoſe this wild and wanton waſte of the public money. "He proteſted, on this as on all other occaſions, againſt any interpoſition in the affairs of Germany. He proteſted againſt that clauſe of the addreſs, by which the Houſe engaged to defend his Majeſty's foreign dominions from inſult, or attack, as utterly inconſiſtent with the Act of Settlement—declaring, that if the repeated and ſhameful evaſions of that Act, or rather the open violations of it, could have been foreſeen, they would probably have for ever precluded from the ſucceſſion that illuſtrious family, to which the nation owed ſuch NUMBERLESS BLESSINGS, SUCH CON-

* "I love to pour out all myſelf, as plain
As HONEST SHIPPEN, or downright Montagne." POPE.

TINUED

TINUED FELICITY." On the 25th of April 1741, the ſeſſion cloſed, and the King took his leave of this Parliament in the proſpect of its diſſolution, with many expreſſions of gratitude and ſatiſfaction.

The NEW PARLIAMENT being convened December 1, 1741, the King in his ſpeech expreſſed his hope and expectation, that the two Houſes would confirm the reſolutions formed by their predeceſſors for the ſupport of the Pragmatic Sanction, the preſervation of the balance of power, the liberties of Europe, and the ſecurity of his dominions. An addreſs of thanks and approbation being moved as uſual, a clauſe was propoſed to intreat his Majeſty not to engage theſe kingdoms in a war for the preſervation of his foreign dominions. In vindication of which, Mr. Shippen aroſe and declared, "that he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to affirm that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He ſaid that he was grown old in the Houſe of Commons, and had lived to ſee his conjectures and predictions ripened into knowlege. I may, ſaid he, perhaps fall under the cenſure of the Houſe, and be once more treated as a criminal, for aſſerting what they who puniſh me cannot deny—that Hanoverian maxims are inconſiſtent with the intereſt and happineſs of this nation—that the wiſe policy of the Act of Settlement ought to be adhered to; and that England ought

ought not to be endangered, in order that the King's foreign dominions may be ſecured."—"Are we, exclaimed with energy another Member *, in reference to the ſame queſtion, to ſtand up ſingle in the defence of the Pragmatic Sanction? to fight for ever the quarrels of others? and live in perpetual war, that our neighbors may enjoy the advantages of peace?" The addreſs, as it was originally moved, was however preſented to the King, the oppoſition not deeming it a fit opportunity to make trial of their ſtrength. But a petition from the Electors of Weſtminſter coming after a ſhort interval under the cognizance of the Houſe, the election of the ſitting Members, who were the Court candidates, was declared void by a majority of four voices; and the High Bailiff was committed to cuſtody. Other controverted elections being likewiſe decided to the diſadvantage of the Court, and againſt its utmoſt exertions; Sir Robert Walpole became ſenſible that his political career haſtened to its termination. Anxious however to make one effort more to retain that authority which he had ſo long exerciſed almoſt without control, and which he could not now relinquiſh without danger; he cauſed a royal meſſage to be ſent to the Prince of Wales, importing that if his Royal Highneſs would accede to terms with his Majeſty, his

* Mr. Viner.

revenue

revenue ſhould be immediately raiſed to £100,000 per annum;—£200,000 ſhould be advanced for the payment of his debts; he and his friends ſhould be taken into favor, and a ſuitable proviſion made for all his followers. But the Prince poſitively declared, "that he would accept of no ſuch conditions, or of any conditions, while public affairs continued under the direction of Sir Robert Walpole—whom he regarded as the bar which ſeparated his Majeſty from the affections of his people—as the grand author of the national loſſes, diſgraces, and grievances, at home and abroad." Repulſed in this attempt, the Miniſter, now in imminent danger of an impeachment, endeavored in vain to detach from their political connection ſome of the leaders of the oppoſite party: And finding himſelf on the next diviſion again left in a minority, he declared he would never more enter the walls of that Houſe. On the enſuing day, February 3, 1742, the King adjourned both Houſes of Parliament to the 18th, and immediately upon this adjournment, Sir Robert Walpole was created Earl of Orford, and reſigned all his employments. Various intrigues and negotiations were carried on during this receſs; and it ſoon appeared that a fatal diviſion had taken place among the Patriots, and that divers of them who had made the loudeſt profeſſions of honor and virtue, who had repeatedly menaced the Miniſter with clamors of inquiry and denun-

denunciations of vengeance, and who had boaſted that no art could diſſolve the cement by which they were united, had ſecretly acceded to an inſidious and diſgraceful accommodation with the Court, of which the impunity of the late Miniſter was underſtood to be a fundamental article. The Duke of Newcaſtle, and Mr. Pelham, with their adherents, were allowed to retain their places. The Earl of Wilmington ſucceeded Sir Robert Walpole, as firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury; Mr. Sandys was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Carteret took the Seals, as Secretary of State for the foreign department, and was regarded as chief Miniſter; and Mr. Pulteney, who refuſed to accept any office of reſponſibility, was ſworn anew of the Priyy Counſel, and was ſoon afterwards created Earl of Bath—but though he had flattered himſelf with the idea of guiding unſeen the reins of government, he was never admitted to the leaſt ſhare of royal confidence, and remained the victim of his own treachery—"a ſolitary monument of blaſted ambition." The nation ſaw with aſtoniſhment and indignation, in this coalition of parties, a change, not of meaſures but of men; they ſaw the old ſyſtem not only adopted, but confirmed and ſtrengthened; they ſaw the ſame influence in Parliament exerted for the ſame purpoſes, and in the tranſports of their reſentment, the new Miniſters were branded as apoſtates

and

and betrayers of their country; and patriotiſm was ridiculed and exploded as an illuſive and empty name *. Soon after the new Miniſtry had entered

* The Duke of Argyle, who had, on the diſmiſſion of Sir Robert Walpole, accepted the command of the royal regiment of horſe and maſter-generalſhip of the ordnance, on being apprized of the political colluſion which had been practiſed, in a very ſhort time, in the utmoſt reſentment, threw up his places.

At or about this period an ODE was addreſſed by the celebrated AKENSIDE, the votary of Apollo in his twofold capacity —*per me concordant carmina, medicina meum eſt*—to Mr. Pulteney, under the name of CURIO, containing very bitter and poignant reflections on his political apoſtacy. The following ſtanzas Indignation has exalted into poetry:

" At length in view the glorious end appear'd,
We ſaw thy ſpirit through the ſenate reign;
And Freedom's friends thy inſtant omen heard
Of laws, for which their fathers bled in vain:—
O Alfred, father of the Engliſh name,
O valiant Edward, firſt in civil fame;
O William, height of public virtue pure,
Bend from your radiant ſeats a joyful eye,
Behold the ſum of all your labours nigh,
Your plans of law complete, your ends of rule ſecure.

" 'Twas then, O ſhame! O ſoul from faith eſtrang'd,
O Albion, oft to flatt'ring vows a prey;
'Twas then—thy thought what ſudden frenzy chang'd?
What ruſhing palſy took thy ſtrength away?
Is this the man in Freedom's cauſe approv'd?
The man ſo great, ſo honour'd, ſo belov'd?
Whom the dead envied and the living bleſs'd?
This patient ſlave by tinſel bonds allur'd?
This wretched ſuitor for a boon abjur'd?
Whom thoſe that fear'd him ſcorn, that truſted him deteſt?"

upon their unctions, the PENSION BILL, which had been formerly the darling object of the Patriots, was revived and paſſed by the Commons, but once more received ſentence of condemnation from the Lords, LORD CARTERET HIMSELF GIVING HIS VOTE AGAINST IT. A motion made for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the Septennial Act was vehemently oppoſed by Mr. PULTENEY and Mr. SANDYS, and the queſtion paſſed in the negative. The Place Bill, now brought forward by Mr. Lyttelton, met with the ſame fate. The motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert Earl of Orford, during the twenty years of his adminiſtration, was alſo rejected; but the motion being renewed, and limited to the laſt ten years, it was with great difficulty carried againſt the Court: But a ſubſidiary Bill, for indemnifying thoſe who ſhould be ſummoned to give evidence againſt that Nobleman, was rejected, after it had paſſed the Commons, through the oppoſition of Lord Carteret: So that the inquiry proved, as it was no doubt intended to prove, finally abortive. Two reports, however, were actually preſented by the Committee of Inquiry to the Houſe, by which, amongſt other intereſting particulars, it appears on record, that, excluſive of all the open and avowed means of influence, the enormous ſum of one million four hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds had been expended during the laſt ten years for SECRET SERVICE. Paxton, Solicitor to the Treaſury, refuſing to

to anſwer interrogatories put to him by the Committee, was committed to cloſe cuſtody, but ſtill perſiſted in his contumacy; and Scroope, Secretary to the Treaſury, through whoſe hands vaſt ſums had paſſed, declared, that he could not IN CONSCIENCE, after conſulting the ableſt lawyers and divines, and laying his caſe before his Majeſty, to whom alone he thought himſelf reſponſible, diſcover in what manner this money had been expended, or to what purpoſes appropriated. And the Committee ſtate in their reports, as a ſubject of moſt ſerious complaint, that the very magnitude and extent of the evil are become the means of ſcreening it from detection and puniſhment. Amongſt thoſe whoſe eloquence enforced a reluctant adoption of the motion of inquiry, no one more diſtinguiſhed himſelf than Mr. Pitt, a young man of extraordinary talents, who had riſen during the few years he had ſat in the Houſe of Commons into very high reputation. In reply to the pretext of danger to the State from this inveſtigation, he declared, "that he was ſo far from apprehending danger from this inquiry, that he firmly believed the nation could only be injured by a long neglect of ſuch examinations. Is it, ſaid he, unbecoming the wiſdom and dignity of this aſſembly, to inquire to what cauſes and to what miſconduct it is to be imputed, that we are neither able to acquire the laurels of war, nor to enjoy the bleſſings of peace? that, during the long continuance of the national

tranquillity, our debts have not been diminiſhed from that ſtate to which they were raiſed by fighting at our own expenſe the general quarrel of mankind? why the ſinking fund, that inviolable depoſit, has been annually diverted from its appropriated purpoſes? I fear not to declare, that I expect, in conſequence of ſuch inquiry, to find, that our treaſure has been exhauſted, not to humble our enemies, or to obviate domeſtic inſurrections—not to ſupport our allies, or to ſuppreſs our factions—but for purpoſes which no man who loves his country can think of without indignation—the purchaſe of votes, the bribing of boroughs, the enriching of hirelings, the multiplying of dependents, the corruption of ſenates. If thoſe to whom the adminiſtration of affairs has been for twenty years confided, have betrayed their truſt—if they have invaded the public rights with the public treaſure, and employed the power committed to them by their country only to enſlave it, who will not acknowlege that a ſacrifice to juſtice is called for—that they ought to be ſet as land-marks to poſterity, to warn thoſe who ſhall hereafter launch on the ocean of power, not to be too confident of an ever-proſperous gale, but to remember that there are rocks on which whoever ruſhes muſt inevitably periſh * ?"

In

* A bill appointing Commiſſioners, ſeven in number, for taking, examining, and ſtating, the public accounts of the kingdom,

In forming a juſt eſtimate of the political character of Sir Robert Walpole, who, for more than twenty years, governed theſe kingdoms with diſtinguiſhed reputation and ability, we ſhall find ample ground both for applauſe and cenſure. Regarding him in the moſt favourable point of view, we are compelled to acknowlege that, under the auſpices of this Miniſter, juſtice was equitably and impartially adminiſtered; the prerogative of the Monarch was invariably reſtrained within the ſtrict limits of the law; commerce was, by many wiſe laws, encouraged and extended; the riches of the nation rapidly increaſed; and the rights and liberties of the people were maintained inviolate. But, if we contemplate the interior policy of his adminiſtration, we perceive it, however fair in appearance, *rotten at the core*, tainted and *ſicklied o'er* with the cadaverous hue of corruption; and threatening, in its progreſs, to undermine all public virtue, and to extinguiſh every ſpark of public ſpirit. Compelled, in order to ſecure the favour of his Sovereign, and with the vain hope to perpetuate himſelf in office, to adopt meaſures contrary to his better judgment, and the true intereſts of his country, he ſaw that the moſt, or rather the only, certain

dom, paſſed with little oppoſition; but, on the ballot, the courtiers exerted themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully, that the numbers were decidedly in favour of the court liſt; upon which the patriots, in ſullen reſentment, ſuffered the bill, after being reported, to be finally thrown out.

method of carrying thoſe obnoxious meaſures into effect, was to create an intereſt in Parliament ſeparate from that of the people; By the baſeſt and moſt degrading arts of political depravity, a majority of votes in both Houſes was obtained and ſecured; and ſince the eſtabliſhment of this ſyſtem of miniſterial corruption, which has deſcended to us in its full force, the deliberations of Parliament are become little better than the conflicts of faction, or the empty forms of freedom *. Parliament, which ought

* Foreign, as it may juſtly be deemed, from the purpoſe of hiſtory, which deſcends not to the contemplation of the private characters of men, any further than they may be interwoven with their public life, it may be tranſiently remarked that this Miniſter, although he cannot be applauded for the purity of his morals, poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, all thoſe happy ſocial quaties which conciliate affection, if they fail to engage eſteem. This ſtriking trait of Sir Robert Walpole's general character has been touched in a maſterly manner by the poetic pencil of POPE:

"Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
Of ſocial pleaſure, ill exchang'd for power;
Seen him uncumber'd with the venal tribe,
Smile without art, and win without a bribe."

Sir Robert Walpole, in perſon, was tall, ſomewhat bulky, and his countenance is deſcribed as noble and benign. Of his attachment to the fine arts, the magnificent collection of pictures at Houghton *was* a very deciſive proof: But his neglect or contempt of literature, though not himſelf wholly devoid of learning, expoſed him to continual diſgrace; for, while the meaſures of his adminiſtration were attacked by men of the higheſt talents, they were vindicated only by ſcribblers, who were

ought to exhibit an unclouded diſplay of wiſdom, integrity, and benevolence, combined in one illuſtrious aſſemblage, is virtually degraded to a court convened only for the purpoſe of enregiſtering the royal edicts. It is not the grave and well-weighed counſels of the legiſlature which, under this ſyſtem, direct the movements of the executive power; but it is the caprice, the pride, and the folly of the executive power which have too frequently influenced and governed the volitions of the legiſlative body. It is an acknowleged truth, a truth upon parliamentary record—that "THE INFLUENCE OF THE CROWN OUGHT TO BE DIMINISHED;" but no vigorous ſteps have yet been taken to effect that diminution. A reform of the repreſentation, a reduction of the ſtanding military force, a progreſſive redemption of the public debt, and a total abolition of all uſeleſs and ſuperfluous places, penſions, and ſinecures, upon which the monſter CORRUPTION feeds and thrives, are alone adequate to accompliſh the mighty taſk of a national regeneration.

were liberally paid for writing, what even the moſt partial friends of the Miniſter could ſcarcely endure to read. A penſion of three thouſand livres, granted by Louis XV. to the celebrated M. Crebillion, gave riſe in England to the following *jeu d'eſprit*:

"At reading this, great WALPOLE ſhook his head;
How! wit and genius help a man to bread!
With better ſkill we penſion and promote;
None eat with us who cannot give a vote."

And if that energy and virtue are wanting in the community at large, which will in time incite to the adoption of ſuch means as are neceſſary to effectuate this end, what remains but to await, in deep and tranquil ſilence, the moment in which the national liberty is fated finally to terminate in that abſolute monarchy which, according to a profound and celebrated writer, forms the true *euthanaſia* of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION?

The new adminiſtration was now completely formed, and the whole formidable ſeries of patriotic motions had been ſucceſsfully conſigned, by their former advocates, to repoſe and oblivion. Affairs, therefore, now reverting to their regular and accuſtomed channels, the Houſe of Commons was moved, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to reſolve itſelf into a Committee of Supply; and, conformably to the eſtimates and reſolutions brought forward, upwards of an hundred thouſand ſeamen and landmen were voted for the ſervice of the current year; the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds was granted to the Queen of Hungary, and the ſubſidies to Denmark and Heſſe Caſſel continued*. But this was deemed by the Court a very ina-

* "Such, ſays the Gothic annaliſt of the times, were the exertions of the new miniſters to make ſome *figure* with the people in ſupport of the meaſures of his Majeſty, that no leſs than five millions ſeven hundred and twenty-three thouſand pounds had been

inadequate aid; and it ſoon appeared that the new Miniſter, Lord Carteret, a man haughty and confident, had formed vaſt and dangerous projects, calculated for the ſole purpoſe of recommending himſelf to the favour of the King, who was ambitious to ſignalize his talents, as King WILLIAM had formerly done, at the head of a grand Continental army. With this view, therefore, ſixteen thouſand regular troops, afterwards increaſed to a much larger number, and which might have been employed to great advantage in different naval expe-

been granted this ſeſſion in the committee of ſupply: All of it, he adds exultingly, *except* 20,000l. *voted for building Weſtminſter bridge*, for the purpoſes of the war, or for ſupplying the deficiencies of the expenſe of laſt year's warlike preparations." Is it not worth while, however, to pauſe a moment, and aſk whether the community has not, *according to the calm verdict of reaſon*, derived more real and permanent advantage from the expenditure of the 20,000l. in a work of public utility and magnificence, than of the millions ſo eagerly and laviſhly appropriated to the purpoſes of devaſtation and deſtruction? Is it pity or ſcorn, amazement or ſorrow, indignation or deriſion, that ſuch national infatuation as this is calculated in a philoſophic mind moſt ſtrongly to excite? Or is power delegated by communities to individuals only to multiply and perpetuate their own miſeries? How forcibly does hiſtory confirm the humiliating reflection of the poet:

" ——— Man, proud man,
Dreſt in a little brief authority,
Plays ſuch fantaſtic tricks before high Heaven
As makes the angels weep."

ditions,

ditions, were, in the month of April 1742, embarked for Flanders, and were ſhortly after joined by ſixteen thouſand Hanoverians and ſix thouſand Heſſians, in Britiſh pay, and a numerous body of Auſtrians. The Earl of Stair, created, on the recent reſignation of the Duke of Argyle, Field-Marſhal of Great Britain, a Nobleman diſtinguiſhed as well for his perſonal accompliſhments as his military and political talents, was appointed Generaliſſimo of this new army. Being inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the States General, he exerted in vain the whole force of his eloquence to prevail upon their High Mightineſſes to concur in the projects of the King of Great Britain. Although the States had come to a previous reſolution conſiderably to augment their forces, they declared their determination to adhere to their neutrality. And the Engliſh General finding himſelf unable, without their aſſiſtance, to engage in thoſe offenſive operations he had in contemplation, which were ſaid to be the ſiege of Dunkirk, to be followed, if ſucceſsful, by a rapid march to the Somme, diſtributed his army into cantonments in the countries of Flanders, Liege, and Luxemburg.

Lord Stair's negotiation proving ineffectual, Lord Carteret was himſelf delegated with new propoſitions for the conſideration and choice of their High Mightineſſes: 1. That the republic ſhould declare

war againſt France in concert with England, &c. 2. That they ſhould garriſon the fortified towns in Flanders belonging to the Queen of Hungary, to enable her to employ her troops in the field: 3. That Great Britain ſhould take thirty thouſand of the troops of Holland into Britiſh pay: Laſtly, To enter into a new treaty of commerce very advantageous to the republic. The States General, in reply, declared their reluctance, by entering into the war, to make it more bloody; they, with a noble pride, aſſerted, that the troops of the republic were raiſed only for the defence of the republic, and THEY HAD NEVER HIRED THEM OUT. As to the laſt propoſition, it was acknowleged to be very acceptable, but too dearly purchaſed at the expenſe of a war. Theſe anſwers, however conſonant to the moderation, wiſdom, and dignity of the republic, gave little ſatisfaction to the Engliſh Miniſter, who returned to London much diſpleaſed and diſappointed at his failure.

When the Parliament of Great Britain met in November 1742, the conduct of the new Miniſtry was arraigned in the bittereſt terms of ſeverity. The Earl of Cheſterfield, who had not been included in the new arrangements of office, aſſerted, that the aſſembling an army in Flanders without the concurrence of the States General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by intereſt, to ſupport the Queen of Hungary, was a raſh and ridiculous meaſure; that it would inevitably involve the

the nation as principals in an expenſive and ruinous war; and that the arms and wealth of Great Britain alone were not adequate to the purpoſe of raiſing the Houſe of Auſtria to its former height of elevation; that, while England exhauſted her reſources to carry into effect her romantic and impracticable projects, the Electorate of Hanover, though under the ſame engagements, and governed by the ſame Prince, contributed nothing as an ally to her aſſiſtance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had ſent into the field, and at a very exorbitant price. After having exalted the Elector of Hanover from a ſtate of obſcurity to the Crown, this nation, ſaid his Lordſhip, is condemned to hire the troops of that Electorate to fight in their own cauſe, to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known to all Europe that they were not raiſed for this occaſion." The Duke of Bedford alſo, a Nobleman of many private and public virtues, and of a family illuſtriouſly diſtinguiſhed by the ardour of its attachment to the true intereſts of their country, affirmed, on this occaſion, "that the meaſures of the Engliſh Miniſtry had long been regulated by the intereſt of his Majeſty's Electoral territories; that theſe had long been conſidered as a gulf, into which the treaſures of Great Britain had been thrown; that the ſtate of Hanover had been changed, without any viſible cauſe,

cauſe, ſince the acceſſion of its Princes to the throne of England. The marks of affluence and proſperity were of late diſcernible in all its diſtricts, without any diſcovery of mines or extenſion of commerce; and new dominions had been purchaſed, the price of which it was more than ſuſpected was never paid from the revenues of Hanover." The motion, however, for an addreſs to the throne, "beſeeching and adviſing his Majeſty to exonerate his ſubjects of the charge and burden of thoſe mercenaries who were taken into the ſervice laſt year without the knowlege or conſent of Parliament," was rejected; Lord Carteret, the new Miniſter, with heroic effrontery, ſetting every appearance of conſiſtency at defiance, and engaging with the moſt zealous ardour in the proſecution and defence of meaſures which he had himſelf repeatedly held up to the public ſcorn, indignation, and deriſion. In the courſe of the ſeſſion, the Place Bill was again brought forward, and again rejected by the Commons, the numbers, on the diviſion, being 221 againſt 196. Mr. Sandys declared himſelf indeed to be as great, if not a greater, friend than ever to the bill, but that the TIME was improper; that it was neceſſary previouſly to remove certain prejudices which had been ſcattered round the throne; and that he was againſt urging the meaſure at preſent, becauſe he hoped the period would ſhortly arrive when it would be readily agreed to by every branch of

of the legiſlature. A motion for reviving the inquiry into the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole for the laſt ten years, was negatived by 253 againſt 186. In purſuance of the plan of Continental warfare now adopted by the Court of London, the Earl of Stair aſſembled the confederate forces early in the ſpring (A. D. 1743), with a view, as was believed, of penetrating the frontier of France on the ſide of the Moſelle; but being oppoſed by the Auſtrian and Hanoverian Generals intruſted with the ſecret reſolves of the Engliſh Court, the whole army directed its courſe towards the Maine. On their near approach to Francfort, the Emperor, alarmed with the apprehenſion of falling as a captive into the hands of the King of England, prepared to fly for refuge, though he ſeemed ſcarcely to know whither; but the Engliſh commander deputed, without delay, an officer of diſtinction with a meſſage to his Imperial Majeſty, aſſuring him, in the name of the King his maſter, that the reſpect due to the Imperial dignity ſhould not be violated, nor the city he had choſen for his perſonal reſidence moleſted. The Emperor, notwithſtanding, retired firſt to Munich, and, on the re-approach of the Auſtrians, to Augſburg, whence he returned, at the termination of the campaign, to his former reſidence at Francfort. The Court of Verſailles, which had in vain made advances of accommodation to the Court of Vienna, now apprehending the

the junction of the allies commanded by Lord Stair with the Auſtrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine, directed the Mareſchal de Noailles to aſſemble an army of 60,000 men on the Maine, while the Mareſchal de Coigné was placed at the head of a yet ſuperior army in Alſace, to oppoſe any attempt of the Auſtrian commander to penetrate into France by forcing the paſſage of the Rhine. The King of England, eager to gather thoſe laurels which imagination had already woven into wreaths and garlands, accompanied by his younger ſon the Duke of Cumberland—now, for the firſt time, appearing in the field—arrived in June at the camp of Aſchaffenburg. Here, however, to his unſpeakable ſurpriſe and chagrin, the Monarch ſoon found himſelf and his whole army reduced to a very critical ſituation, by the ſuperior ſkill and conduct of the Mareſchal de Noailles, whoſe plan of military operation during this campaign, the King of Pruſſia tells us, would have done honour to the moſt renowned captain. This General had, early in the ſummer, taken poſſeſſion of the cities of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, and, paſſing the Rhine, had encamped on the eaſt ſide of the river, above Francfort, in a poſition which commanded the navigation of the upper Maine; at the ſame time occupying all the adjacent poſts on the Rhine and Maine, ſo as effectually to bar all acceſs with the ſurrounding country, and to intercept

cept all convoys of proviſion or ſupply. The King of England, therefore, found himſelf under the neceſſity of decamping from Aſchaffenburg, and directed his march to Hanau, where he expected to meet large reinforcements. But the Mareſchal, foreſeeing that the Allies would not long be able to maintain their poſition, had taken his meaſures accordingly; and, on approaching the village of Dettingen, his Britannic Majeſty found the French army drawn up in battle-array, with a view to oppoſe his farther progreſs. To ſo perilous an extremity no King of England, in encountering a foreign enemy, had ever been reduced. In front were the narrow and dangerous defiles of Dettingen, occupied in force by the enemy; on the left flowed the river Maine, on the high oppoſite banks of which the French had planted a formidable line of batteries; on the right were mountains and woods, interſected by a moraſs; and all retreat was precluded by the vigilance of the French commander, who had taken poſſeſſion of Aſchaffenburg immediately on its being evacuated by the Britiſh forces. No event more favourable could be expected than that the whole army muſt, in a ſhort time, ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war; and the Mareſchal de Noailles might reaſonably preſume, that for him was reſerved the glory of avenging the fatal cataſtrophe of Poictiers. But the raſh and inexperienced valour of the Duc de Grammont blaſted theſe brilliant

liant hopes; advancing through the defiles, contrary to the expreſs orders of the Mareſchal, who was compelled to move with the whole army in order to ſuſtain this unſeaſonable attack, he offered the enemy battle upon equal terms in the incloſed plain. The French charged with their uſual impetuoſity, but were received by the Engliſh with cool and determined intrepidity. The King himſelf diſplayed much perſonal courage, and the French were repulſed with great ſlaughter, and compelled to repaſs the Maine with the loſs of 6000 men; though they ſuffered no moleſtation in their retreat, the King of England purſuing without delay his march to Hanau, impatient to receive his expected ſupplies and reinforcements. The Duke of Cumberland, who fought with great gallantry, was wounded in the action. At Hanau the King was viſited by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Count Khevenhuller; but no operations of conſequence took place during the remainder of this campaign, the original or ſpecific object of which it might baffle the profoundeſt ſagacity to deviſe. Towards the latter end of the ſummer, the allied army paſſed the Rhine at Mentz, and the King of England fixed his head-quarters at Worms. Here the advances of the Diet, who, ſolicitous to reſtore the peace of the Empire, wrote letters to the King of England and the States General, requeſting, in concert with themſelves, the mediation of the ma-

ritime powers, being previouſly rejected, a treaty was ſigned with the Queen of Hungary and the King of Sardinia, who engaged to maintain 40,000 infantry and a proportionable corps of cavalry, for the ſervice of the Queen of Hungary in Italy. The allurements held out to his Sardinian Majeſty were, an Engliſh ſubſidy of £280,000 *per annum*, the transfer of certain diſtricts of the Milaneſe, and the proſpect of gaining the Marquiſate of Finale, her pretenſions to which, by an article of this treaty, her Hungarian Majeſty moſt generouſly aſſigned over to this Monarch; although an actual and unconditional ceſſion of that territory to the republic of Genoa, to which it had anciently belonged, though wreſted from her by the violence of the Houſe of Auſtria, had been made by the late Emperor Charles VI. for the ſum of 400,000 golden crowns, for which it had been previouſly mortgaged; and which ſum, it is true, her Hungarian Majeſty now condeſcended to grant her royal permiſſion to the republic to receive from any power willing and able to repay it*. The republic remonſtrated in the

* The tenth article of the treaty of Worms, relating to the ceſſion of Finale, is a great hiſtorical curioſity, and exhibits the crooked and inſidious policy of Lord Carteret in a very ſtriking point of view. It is as follows: "As it is of importance to the public cauſe, that his Majeſty the King of Sardinia ſhould have an immediate communication of his dominions with the ſea and with the maritime powers, her Majeſty the Queen of Hungary

the ſtrongeſt manner againſt a treaty ſo injurious to her rights; proteſting alſo, in a memorial preſented

Hungary and Bohemia yields to him all the rights which ſhe may have in any manner, and upon any title whatſoever, to the town and marquiſate of Finale, which rights ſhe yields and tranſfers, without any reſtrictions, to the King, in the ſame manner as ſhe does the countries deſcribed in the foregoing article; in the juſt expectation that the republic of Genoa will facilitate, as far as ſhall be neceſſary, a diſpoſition ſo indiſpenſably requiſite for the liberty and ſecurity of Italy, *in conſideration of the ſum which ſhall be found due to the republic, without his Majeſty the King of Sardinia, or her Majeſty the Queen of Hungary, being obliged to contribute to the payment of the ſaid ſum:* Provided always, that the town of Finale be and remain for ever a free-port town, as is Leghorn; and that it ſhall be allowable for his Majeſty the King of Sardinia to re-eſtabliſh there the forts which have been demoliſhed, or to cauſe others to be built, according as he ſhall judge convenient." It is evident that Lord Carteret, conſcious of the nefariouſneſs of this attempt, dared not openly to ſacrifice the faith and honor of the Engliſh nation, which had actually guaranteed, by the fourth article of the Quadruple Alliance, the poſſeſſion of Finale to the Genoeſe, by making it a direct party in the tranſaction. It was no doubt the *purpoſe* of the Engliſh Miniſter to perſuade the Parliament of Great Britain to pay the money in queſtion, and to compel the Senate of Genoa to take it. But, if he found the oppoſition to this meaſure too ſtrong, he had this evaſion in reſerve, that the rights of the Queen of Hungary, if invalid in themſelves, gave no additional ſanction to the claims of the King of Sardinia; that the republic was not obliged to conſent to the redemption of the mortgage, nor was Great Britain under any obligation to offer it. Thus a flagitious ſcheme was formed, which might be eaſily abandoned if found impracticable in the execution. A negotiation at the

ſented to the Imperial Diet, againſt this tranſaction, and claiming the protection of that auguſt body; Finale being an ancient and acknowleged fief of the Empire. But Lord Carteret, who had accompanied the King of England to Germany, and negotiated this affair in perſon, treated the embaſſy of the republic with the moſt marked and inſufferable contempt, though the Queen of Hungary herſelf heſitated to inſiſt upon the validity of her claim. In conſequence of this abominable injuſtice, the Senate of Genoa concluded a treaty of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with Spain, at

cloſe of the ſummer was carried on with the Emperor, and articles of accommodation actually agreed upon, with the reluctant concurrence of the Queen of Hungary, by which the hereditary dominions of the Emperor were to be reſtored, on condition of a renunciation of his claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion. By a ſeparate article of the treaty, the ſum of ſix millions of florins was, by a temporary aſſignment on certain lands, allotted to the Emperor for the ſupport of the Imperial dignity, all deficiencies in the payment of which were to be made good by the King of England. Lord Carteret, however, reſolving not to take upon himſelf the ſole reſponſibility of this article, delayed the ſigning of the treaty till a meſſenger was diſpatched to the regency in London, requiring their aſſent to it. But, to the ſurpriſe and chagrin both of the King and the Emperor, the regency ſent word, "that they were of opinion, it was better, till the accompliſhment of a general peace, to leave the burden of ſupporting his Imperial Majeſty on the Court of France, who would ſoon be tired of the expenſe." The negotiation, therefore, proved ultimately abortive.

Aranjuez, the following year—provoking, by this means, the implacable reſentment of the Houſe of Auſtria, which appeared to deem the abſolute annihilation of the republic ſcarcely an adequate atonement for ſuch an act of preſumption. In September, the Allies, now encamped at Spire, were joined by 20,000 Dutch auxiliaries; the States General, notwithſtanding the ſolicitations and menaces of France, being at laſt prevailed upon openly to declare themſelves in favor of the Queen of Hungary. Mareſchal Noailles having retired into Alſace, the Allies, as if now pleaſed and proud to march about, made various random and fruitleſs incurſions, and demoliſhed the entrenchments already abandoned by the French on the banks of the Queich; after which they ſeparated into winter-quarters *. Prince Charles of Lorraine

* "Pour ſe convaincre (ſays the King of Pruſſia) du peu de ſuite qu'il y a dans les actions des hommes, il n'y à qu'à faire l'analyſe de cette campagne. On aſſemble une armée ſur le Mein, ſans pourvoir à ſes ſubſiſtances: La faim et la ſurpriſe obligent les Alliés a ſe battre; ils ſont vainqueurs des François; ils paſſent le Rhin, ils vont a Worms; le Speyerbach les arrête, ſans qu'il trouvent des expédiens pour en dépoſter les ennemis; ils avancent enfin ſur le Speyerbach que M. de Noailles les abandonne, et ils ne reçoivent les ſecours des Hollandois que pour prendre des quartiers d'hiver dans le Brabant et dans le Weſtphalie.—Apres quoi le Roi George prit le chemin de Londres, pour y faire à ſon Parlement, dans une harangue pompeuſe, le recit de ſes exploits."—*Oeuvres de Frederic II.*

alſo, being foiled in his attempts to penetrate into France on the ſide of Alſace, by the Mareſchal de Coigné, marched back to the Palatinate; and the campaign cloſed with no deciſive advantage on either ſide. But Lord Stair, the Engliſh Commander in chief, immediately on the termination of it, threw up his commiſſion in high diſguſt; determined not to lend the authority of his name to military operations, in the concerting and directing of which he had, by his own declaration, ſo little ſhare. This celebrated Nobleman was one of the moſt remarkable, and, in all reſpects, one of the moſt accompliſhed perſonages of his time. He had, early in life, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his zeal in ſupport of the Revolution, to the principles of which he continued ever ſteadily attached. Devoting himſelf to a military life, his valour and conduct were conſpicuouſly diſplayed in the wars of the Revolution and Succeſſion; and his knowlege and addreſs being no leſs eminent than his courage, he was employed in various political negotiations, reſiding ſeveral years in a diplomatic capacity at the Courts of Warſaw and Verſailles. During the regency of the Duke of Orleans, the Earl of Stair roſe to the higheſt degree of favor, and was admitted to the moſt intimate confidence of that Prince, who, as we are told, upon ſome intereſting political occaſion, being aſked what part his Royal Highneſs meant to take, replied,

plied, with a ſmile, "Whatever the Engliſh Ambaſſador pleaſes." After paſſing through a variety of high offices, he was at length, in conſequence of his determined oppoſition to the meaſures of Sir Robert Walpole, diveſted of all his employments; and, retiring to Scotland, lived upon his eſtate many years in dignified obſcurity. But, on the formation of the Continental army, he was recalled in the moſt flattering and honorable manner, in order to be placed at the head of it: And it is by many believed that, if his plans had been adopted in their full extent, France would have found it difficult to reſiſt the ſudden and powerful impreſſion which, in the ſpirit of a great commander, he is known to have meditated.

Early in the following ſpring, March 1744, war was formally declared by France againſt England; and, in a ſhort time after, by England againſt France. In the declaration of France, the King of Great Britain was accuſed of a violation of his neutrality, and of having diſſuaded the Court of Vienna from acceding to any terms of accommodation. "The war, ſays the King of Pruſſia, ſpeaking of the ſituation of affairs at this period, had changed its object. The original idea of ſelf-preſervation on the part of the Houſe of Auſtria had given place to projects of conqueſt. The ſucceſs of the Court of Vienna had excited its ambition; and there was no longer room to doubt that

the dethronement of the Emperor was in contemplation, and that the King of England ſecretly laboured to effect the ſame purpoſe." The mild, the equitable, and pacific Fleury, who, at the age of ſeventy, had aſſumed the reins of government in France, and had ſucceſsfully directed the counſels of that great monarchy for a period of eighteen years, was now no more. And, in conſequence of his demiſe, the Court of Verſailles appeared far leſs ſolicitous to terminate the ſubſiſting differences: And formal reciprocal declarations of war were now publiſhed by the Courts of Verſailles and Vienna. In the former, his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty charged the Queen of Hungary with "obſtinate implacability, with a fixed determination not to liſten to terms of accommodation, and with harbouring projects of inſatiable ambition, hatred, and revenge." On the other hand, the Queen of Hungary charged his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty with "a violation of his moſt ſolemn engagements reſpecting the Pragmatic Sanction; with inſidiouſly inciting different pretenders to lay claim to the ſucceſſion of the late Emperor; with endeavouring to inſtigate the common enemy of Chriſtendom againſt her; and with having acted the part of a public incendiary in the north of Europe, in order that the Czarina might be prevented from aſſiſting the Houſe of Auſtria, while the armies of France were ſpreading deſolation throughout the Empire." And all impartial perſons

perſons were compelled to acknowlege, that the criminations and recriminations of theſe oppoſite declarations were, to the misfortune of mankind—oppreſſed by the ceaſeleſs contentions of theſe proud rival Houſes—ſtrictly and literally true. Vaſt preparations were now made by the Court of Verſailles for the enſuing campaign in Flanders, where an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men was aſſembled, under the command of the famous Mareſchal Comte de Saxe, who inveſted and reduced the towns of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. The allied army, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, a general of almoſt one whole year's experience, and very inferior to that of the French in force, was unable to impede the progreſs of his arms; which, however, received a ſudden and unexpected check from the ſucceſs of Prince Charles of Lorraine, who, having found means to elude the vigilance of Mareſchal Coigné, had croſſed the Rhine at the head of a numerous army, had ſecured the paſſes of Lorraine, and laid the whole country under contribution. Forty thouſand men being detached to reinforce the army in Alſace, the Allies ventured to approach the French commander, now acting on the defenſive; but found no favorable opportunity of attack; and, after various inexplicable and inconſiſtent movements, they at length retired, without hazarding either ſiege or battle, into winter-quarters *.

In

* The French garriſon at Liſle, we are told, diſplayed their wit

In the mean time, all France was in conſternation at the progreſs of the Auſtrians under the Prince of Lorraine, accompanied by the veteran Mareſchal Traun. The fate of the kingdom ſeemed involved in the iſſue of a battle. But their ſchemes of conqueſt were entirely fruſtrated by the alarming intelligence that the King of Pruſſia had a ſecond time entered the dominions of the Queen of Hungary; that the city of Prague and all Bohemia had ſubmitted almoſt without reſiſtance, being entirely unſuſpicious of danger, and conſequently deſtitute of the proper means of defence. "Kings, ſays one of the moſt reſpectable writers of antiquity, have no reaſon to blame the people for changing for intereſt, ſince in that they do but imitate their maſters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiouſneſs, and who think thoſe men moſt capable of ſerving them who pay the leaſt regard to honeſty*." Scarcely were the ratifications of the treaty of Breſlaw exchanged, before the treaty itſelf was violated by one of the parties, in the apprehenſion that it would *eventually* be violated by the other: And Sileſia was deſtined to be once more deluged in blood, in order to determine whether it ſhould be

wit at the expenſe of the inactive warriors they could ſee from their walls. Harlequin was introduced upon the ſtage pompouſly exhibiting a bundle of papers under each arm: Being aſked what he had under the right, he anſwered, *orders*; and what under the left, with equal ſolemnity—*counter-orders*.

* Plutarch in Vit. Pyrr.

ſubject

ſubject to the tyranny of Auſtria or Brandenburg. Prince Charles immediately prepared to march to the relief of Bohemia, and repaſſed, by the light of the full moon, the Rhine, in the face of the French army, commanded by the Mareſchals de Coigné, Noailles, and Belleiſle, who, it was ſuſpected indeed, had ſtill leſs inclination than ability to prevent his departure. The King of Pruſſia himſelf acknowleges, that the real motive of this invaſion was his apprehenſion that the French would be compelled to conclude ſuch a peace as the Auſtrian arrogance ſhould preſcribe; and that the whole force of the Queen of Hungary would afterwards be employed in the recovery of Sileſia; relying, as he tells us, little on the guarantee of England; and knowing that the King of England, in a letter written in his own hand to the Queen of Hungary, had, in alluſion to the conqueſt of Sileſia, made uſe of this remarkable expreſſion—"Madame, ce qui eſt bon à prendre eſt bon a rendre." The oſtenſible ground, however, for this hoſtile attack, was the reſtoration of the tranquillity of the Empire, and the juſt rights of the Emperor; for which purpoſe a treaty had been ſigned at Francfort May 22, 1744, in which the Emperor, the King of Pruſſia, the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the Elector Palatine, were the "moſt high, and high contracting parties:" And by which they engaged themſelves to oblige the Queen of Hungary

to

to reinſtate his Imperial Majeſty in his Electoral dominions, to acknowlege the validity of his election, and to deliver up the archives of the Empire, ſtill in her poſſeſſion; and, by an article yet more alarming, to compel her Hungarian Majeſty to ſubmit the various claims relative to the Auſtrian ſucceſſion to a regular juridical deciſion. And the King of Pruſſia, in his public reſcript to M. D'Andrie, his Miniſter at the Britiſh Court, expreſſed his indignation at "the interference of Great Britain in the internal affairs of the Empire, and the unreaſonableneſs of pretending, that ſuch powerful and reſpectable Princes as thoſe of the Empire, ſhould be obliged to regulate their conduct according to the inclinations of thoſe among the Engliſh who ſtrive to make their countrymen enter into foreign quarrels, that are of no manner of concern to England *." The Prince of Lorraine, under the able direction of Mareſchal Traun, proceeded from the banks of the Rhine, with rapid marches, into Bohemia, where the Auſtrians were reinforced by twenty thouſand Saxons; the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, having ſigned with her

* By the treaty of Francfort, the Heſſians, to whom ſuch immenſe ſums had been paid in ſubſidies during the years of peace, not only refuſed farther to co-operate with us as allies, but actually took a decided part in oppoſition to Great Britain, alarmed at the ambitious projects formed, with the concurrence of England, for the aggrandizement of the Houſe of Auſtria.

Hunga-

Hungarian Majeſty a convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions. This ſudden return of the Auſtrian army entirely diſconcerted the projects of the Pruſſian Monarch, who, having advanced with ſome indiſcretion towards the frontiers of the Arch-Dutchy, was himſelf in imminent danger of having his retreat intercepted by the ſkilful manœuvres of Mareſchal Traun: And finding this wary and cautious veteran conſtantly encamped in inacceſſible ſituations, he had no other reſource remaining than to abandon his conqueſts in Bohemia, and to gain the paſſes of Sileſia, which he effected not without great difficulty and loſs, leaving his heavy artillery and magazines in the hands of the enemy *. " Such, ſays the King of Pruſſia, was

* The King of Pruſſia had no expectation of the re-appearance of the Auſtrian army in Bohemia during this campaign, and highly reſented the inactivity of the French Generals, who, notwithſtanding the urgent remonſtrances of the Pruſſian Miniſter Schmettau, made very faint and feeble efforts to impede the retreat of the Prince of Lorraine from the French territories; little impreſſed, as it ſhould ſeem, with the arguments of the Court of Berlin, tending to ſhew the *impolicy* of this conduct. " Schmettau (ſays his Pruſſian Majeſty) étoit déſeſpéré de la molleſſe des François. Il préſentoit des memoires au Roi, il preſſoit les miniſtres, il écrivoit aux Maréchaux. Et quel riſque couroit la France? Quand M. de Noailles auroit été battu, les troupes de la Reine etoient également obligées de quitter l'Alſace, et ſi les François étoient victorieux, ils détruiſoient l'armée Autrichienne qui vivement pourſuivie, au lieu de repaſſer ſes ponts du

was the end of a campaign, the commencement of which promiſed the moſt brilliant ſucceſs;" and in the conduct of which he, with a noble ingenuouſneſs, confeſſes himſelf chargeable with a ſeries of errors, while he applauds the ſkill and ſagacity of his antagoniſt as worthy of the higheſt admiration. "Mareſchal Traun (ſays he) acted the part of Sertorius, and the King that of Pompey. The conduct of that commander in this campaign was a model of perfection, which every ſoldier who is attached to his profeſſion ought to ſtudy and to imitate ſo far as he poſſeſſes the ability." The King often mentioned this campaign as his *ecole de la guerre*, and Mareſchal Traun as his military preceptor; and the Prince of Lorraine, on his return to Vienna, was received with acclamations of applauſe, to which, though on all occaſions he had diſplayed much perſonal gallantry, he had only a ſecondary claim.

During theſe tranſactions, Count Seckendorf, the Imperial General, being liberally ſupplied with ſubſidies from France, had found means to aſſem-

du Rhin ſe ſeroit noyée dans ce fleuve. Les François emportèrent le village d'Achenheim, et s'amuſérent a des formalités ſuperflues, tandis que le Prince de Lorraine mit ce temps à profit pour repaſſer le Rhin ſur ſes ponts de Beinheim qu'il rompit avant l'aube du jour. Les François firent ſonner des rodomontades; et le Prince de Lorraine continua paiſiblement ſa marche par la Souabe et le haut Palatinat pour entrer en Boheme."—*Oeuvres de Frederic II.*

ble

ble an army, with which he made an irruption into Bavaria, and the Emperor once more took poſſeſſion of Munich, his capital. But this faint gleam of proſperity was of ſhort duration: Knowing that the Auſtrians, now triumphant in Bohemia, were once more preparing to expel him from his hereditary dominions, deſtitute of reſource, and overwhelmed with a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, he expired at Munich January 18, 1745, of that moſt inſupportable of ſublunary ills—a broken heart; leaving to future ages a moſt ſtriking and memorable example of the inſtability and vanity of human greatneſs *.

* No apology can be neceſſary for recalling to the public recollection the beautiful lines of the late Dr. Johnſon relative to this Prince, in his maſterly Imitation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal:

" The bold Bavarian in a luckleſs hour
Tries the dread ſummits of Cæſarean power—
With unexpected legions burſts away,
And ſees defenceleſs realms receive his ſway.
Short ſway! fair Auſtria ſpreads her mournful charms,
The Queen, the beauty, ſets the world in arms;
From hill to hill the beacons rouzing blaze
Spreads wide the hope of plunder and of praiſe:
The fierce Croatian, and the wild huſſar,
And all the ſons of ravage, crowd the war.
The baffled Prince in honor's flattering bloom
Of haſty greatneſs finds the fatal doom;
His foes' deriſion, and his ſubjects' blame—
And ſteals to death from anguiſh and from ſhame."

The

The Grand Seignior, Mahmout V. had obſerved with exemplary and inviolable fidelity, during the troubles of the Queen of Hungary, the treaty recently concluded with the Emperor Charles VI.; and, at this period, from the mere ſpontaneous impulſe of generoſity, he offered his mediation, in order to effect a general accommodation amongſt the contending potentates of Chriſtendom. For this purpoſe, the Grand Vizier delivered a reſcript to the Miniſters of the belligerent powers reſident at the Porte, replete with ſentiments of juſtice and humanity. "WAR is affirmed, in this memorial, to be the malady which infects Princes; but how juſt ſoever they may be in their commencement, wars cannot, with any ſhadow of juſtice, be long continued, becauſe the conſequences that attend them are worſe than the evils they meant to take away. The SUBLIME PORTE hoped, for theſe reaſons, that the Princes of Chriſtendom would have put an end to the war, in order to prevent ſuch calamities: But being informed by the Ambaſſadors, Envoys, Reſidents, and Agents, ſettled here, that they are about to take the field with very numerous armies this campaign, from whence nothing can be expected but black events, it has been thought proper to repreſent to all the Miniſters at the Court of the moſt gracious, moſt invincible, moſt puiſſant Emperor, the ſhadow of God upon earth, that, 1. This muſt occaſion a vaſt effuſion of human blood, and muſt

muſt expoſe a multitude of innocent families to ruin and deſtruction. 2. That it muſt give a ſanction to the breach of all laws human and divine, by attributing to force what ought to belong to right, and thereby confound all order, induſtry, and arts. 3. That it muſt prove the cauſe of interrupting commerce even amongſt the ſubjects of ſuch powers as are not engaged in war, to the great loſs and detriment of the human ſpecies in general. That his Sublime Highneſs, having a tender ſenſe of humanity, which is natural to all great minds, has judged it proper to interpoſe, and to endeavour to find out the means of compromiſing theſe differences. The Grand Viſier, therefore, has thought it his duty to inform the reſpective powers at war of this moſt beneficent and laudable deſign in the ſight of God and man of his Sublime Highneſs, in order to know their ſentiments thereupon." It is ſuperfluous to ſay, that this offer was wholly unavailable: It was doubtleſs regarded as a hopeleſs and impracticable taſk ſo to explain the complicated politics of the European courts, as to have made this *ignorant barbarian* comprehend what it was that the Chriſtian Princes were quarrelling about.

In a ſhort time after the death of the Emperor, the Auſtrian armies entered the Electorate of Bavaria; and the young Elector, unable to contend againſt ſuch ſuperior force, was compelled to abandon his capital, and retire to Augſburg; and a

treaty was ſoon afterwards concluded at Fuеſſen between him and the Queen of Hungary, by which an entire reſtitution of her conqueſts was made by that Princeſs, in conſequence of a relinquiſhment of all claims on the Auſtrian ſucceſſion on the part of the Elector; and, which was of far greater importance, his voice in favour of the Grand Duke of Tuſcany at the enſuing election of an Emperor of the Romans, and his acknowlegement of the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the perſon of the Queen: And the Court of Vienna having now ſecured all the voices of the electoral college, thoſe of Brandenburg and the Palatinate excepted, the Grand Duke was, on the ſecond of September 1745, declared Emperor of the Romans at Francfort, by the name of Francis I. Although the campaign of 1744 had redounded little to the reputation of the Pruſſian arms, the political views of the King were in a great meaſure anſwered by it. The French regained the aſcendant on the Rhine, where they captured, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the Imperial city of Fribourg; and they were enabled to take the field in Flanders with redoubled force and vigour. The Pruſſian Monarch, on his part, opened the campaign of 1745 in Sileſia at the head of ſeventy thouſand men; and the Auſtrians and Saxons having penetrated into that province through the defiles of Landſhut, the two armies joined battle at Friedburg, and after a furious

rious conflict, maintained from the early dawn of morning till noon, the Auſtrians were defeated with great loſs, and retiring into Bohemia, were followed thither by the King, whoſe career of victory ſhewed that he had no longer Mareſchal Traun for his adverſary, that officer having been appointed to the command of the army of the Empire aſſembled for the protection of the Diet at Francfort. The Pruſſian Monarch however, conceiving himſelf abandoned by France, whoſe conqueſts on the Maeſe or the Scheld were, as he affirmed to his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, of no more advantage to Pruſſia than victories on the Scamander, would willingly have accommodated his differences with the Empreſs-Queen, by which appellation her Hungarian Majeſty was now diſtinguiſhed; but that Princeſs haughtily rejected his advances: And the Prince of Lorraine received poſitive orders from the Court of Vienna to riſk another engagement. An opportunity offering itſelf of attacking the Pruſſians to advantage in their camp of Sohr, near Staudentz, a ſecond pitched battle took place on the thirtieth of September; and though the Auſtrians ſeemed at firſt to have a fair proſpect of ſucceſs, forcing their way into the interior of the Pruſſian camp, and even carrying off the military cheſt and the King's own cabinet, they were finally repulſed. In this battle, the brother-princes Ferdinand and Louis of Brunſwick were perſonally op-

poſed to each other, and fought with an emulation of valour. Notwithſtanding this victory, his Pruſſian Majeſty thought proper to retire from Bohemia, which he always conſidered as an ineligible and hazardous ſcene of military operation, and entered the rich and fertile country of Luſatia. And the Saxons being defeated, December 15, by the Prince of Anhalt at Keſſeldorf, his Poliſh Majeſty was obliged to abandon the city of Dreſden, of which his Pruſſian Majeſty took immediate poſſeſſion: And, in conſequence of the continued ſucceſſes of that Monarch, the Empreſs-Queen was at length induced to ſign a treaty of peace at Dreſden, January 1746, by which the King of Pruſſia acknowleged the Grand Duke of Tuſcany as Emperor; the Electorate of Saxony, in conſideration of the payment of one million of German crowns, was reſtored to his Poliſh Majeſty, and Sileſia once more guaranteed to Pruſſia. Vehement remonſtrances were made by France againſt this treaty, which ſhe affected to reſent as a violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements. But it is ſufficiently evident, that both France and Pruſſia, from the commencement to the termination of their political connection, were actuated entirely by the ſame motives; and that neither obſerved any faith with the other farther than it happened to be conformable to their own ſeparate intereſt. "What is the real language, ſays the King of Pruſſia, of theſe remon-

remonſtrances of the Court of Verſailles? Conti knows ſo well how to detain the principal forces of the Queen of Hungary in Germany, that he has repaſſed the Rhine, leaving any perſons that pleaſed at liberty to elect an Emperor; that Traun has been enabled to detach Grune to Saxony, purpoſing to follow with the remainder of his troops, if the Queen of Hungary thinks fit to employ them againſt you. I have done great things this campaign. *Mention* alſo has been made of you: I regret the dangerous ſituation in which you are placed, for your attachment to me; but glory is to be acquired only by ſacrificing yourſelf for France. Be firm and conſtant, and ſuffer without complaining. Imitate the example of my other allies, whom I have abandoned indeed, but to whom I have given alms when they have loſt their poſſeſſions. You, without doubt, will have ability to extricate yourſelf from theſe embarraſſments; but if unfortunately you ſhould be brought to ruin, I will engage that the French academy ſhall compoſe the funeral oration of your empire." In a letter written with his own hand to the King of France, his Pruſſian Majeſty thus apologiſes for his defection: "After the letter addreſſed to your Majeſty in November laſt, I thought I had a right to expect from your Majeſty real and effective ſuccours. I do not enter into the reaſons which may have induced your Majeſty to abandon your allies to the

caprice of fortune: For this time the valour of my troops has extricated me from the danger in which I found myſelf involved. Had I been overwhelmed by the number of my enemies, your Majeſty would have contented yourſelf with lamenting my fate, and I ſhould have been left deſtitute of reſource. Your Majeſty adviſes me to counſel myſelf: I have done ſo; and I find that reaſon loudly proclaims the neceſſity of putting a ſpeedy termination to a war which at preſent exiſts without an object, ſince the Auſtrians are no longer the invaders of Alſace, and an Emperor is actually choſen. Reaſon warns me to watch over my own ſafety; and to conſider the formidable armament preparing by Ruſſia on the one ſide, and the army of Mareſchal Traun advancing from the banks of the Rhine on the other. The Auſtrians and Saxons have ſent their reſpective Miniſters to this place to negotiate a peace, and I have no other option than to ſign it. May I hope for the happineſs of being employed by your Majeſty to mediate a general pacification? The intereſts of France cannot be confided to any perſon more attached to your Majeſty than myſelf; and I beſeech your Majeſty to believe, that the continuance of your friendſhip will be always dear and precious to me." France was in reality too deeply engaged in her favorite projects of conqueſt in the Low Countries, to entertain any ſerious intention of granting efficacious aſſiſtance to the King of Pruſſia.

Early in the year 1745, Mareſchal Saxe, accompanied by the King and the Dauphin, took the field at the head of an immenſe army, and inveſted the important city of Tournay. The Allies, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland, aſſiſted by Mareſchal Konigſeg and the Prince of Waldeck, though far inferior in number, determined to make an effort for the relief of the place. On the 11th of May, they advanced with great reſolution to the attack of the French army, encamped under cover of the village of Fontenoy, and protected by a prodigious fire from the batteries they had planted on all ſides. The enterpriſe was conſidered as a ſingular inſtance of military raſhneſs. But ſuch was the intrepidity diſplayed by the Engliſh and Hanoverian infantry, that the French were driven beyond their lines, and in imminent danger of a defeat; but the Dutch failing in their attempt on the village of Fontenoy, and the Engliſh General not making, as it is ſaid, the proper uſe of his firſt ſucceſs, by dividing the column of attack after he had broke the centre of the French, Mareſchal Saxe had time to bring up his *corps de reſerve*, and the Engliſh found themſelves incloſed as it were within a circle of fire, from the redoubts which they had already paſſed, the maſked batteries planted on each ſide, and the artillery, which, under the direction of Mareſchal Saxe himſelf, played upon them with dreadful execution in front.

In this ſituation, the moſt heroic efforts were totally unavailing, and the Allies were compelled to retreat with the loſs of more than ten thouſand men, to which that of the French was ſuppoſed nearly equal; but the extent of the misfortune could be known only by the conſequences. Tournay ſurrendered, after a gallant defence, by an honorable capitulation. Ghent and Bruges were captured by a *coup de main*: Oſtend, Dendermond, Newport, and Aeth, were ſucceſſively reduced; and the Allies retired for ſafety beyond the canal of Antwerp: And, at the end of the campaign, the King of France entered the city of Paris in triumph.

Towards the latter end of the ſummer, the French Court, deſirous of cauſing an effectual diverſion to the Engliſh army in Flanders, incited the ſon of the Chevalier de St. George, uſually ſtyled *the Pretender*, a young man of a ſanguine and adventurous diſpoſition, to riſk an invaſion of Great Britain, then almoſt deſtitute of troops, and in a ſtate of great apparent diſſatisfaction with the government. It is not neceſſary to enter into a very circumſtantial narrative of this bold but abortive attempt. Prince Charles, as he was called by his adherents, landed in the Weſtern Iſlands of Scotland in the month of Auguſt, the King of England being then at Hanover. The Lords of the Regency treated the firſt intelligence of his arrival as an idle tale; but, on receiving farther and undoubted

doubted information that he had collected a conſiderable force, and was advancing ſouthward, they iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thouſand pounds for his apprehenſion, and diſpatched a meſſenger to the Continent to haſten the return of his Majeſty, making, at the ſame time, a requiſition of ſix thouſand auxiliaries, which the Dutch were by treaty under obligation to furniſh, and ſeveral Britiſh regiments were alſo recalled from the Netherlands. Inſtructions were ſent to the Lords Lieutenants throughout the kingdom to array the militia in their ſeveral counties, and commiſſions were iſſued to levy new regiments for the ſpeedy and effectual ſuppreſſion of this rebellion. Many different corps of volunteers were incorporated; addreſſes were preſented from all parts, teſtifying the utmoſt abhorrence of this attempt to ſubvert the government; and, notwithſtanding the previous ſymptoms of diſcontent, the whole kingdom ſeemed united as one man in the moment of danger, in ſupport of the national religion, laws, and conſtitution. Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in North Britain, advanced at the head of what troops he could collect to Inverneſs, in order to oppoſe the farther progreſs of this adventurer, who, in the mean time, marched by another route to the capital, which ſurrendering to him without reſiſtance September 16, 1745, he cauſed his father to be proclaimed

claimed King of Great Britain at the high croſs of Edinburgh, declaring himſelf, at the ſame time, regent of his dominions, and fixing his head-quarters at the palace of Holyrood-houſe, the royal reſidence of his anceſtors. On receiving this intelligence, Sir John Cope haſtened back to Edinburgh; and, on the twentieth of September, he encamped with his army, conſiſting of about three thouſand regular troops, near the village of Preſtonpans, in the environs of the capital. Early the next morning, he was attacked, ſword in hand, by the Prince Regent, at the head of about an equal number of Highlanders, who, in leſs than ten minutes, entirely broke the King's troops, unaccuſtomed to their ferocious and terrific mode of fighting. Sir John Cope was heavily cenſured for his preſumption and ignorance on this occaſion. Colonel Gardiner, an officer of diſtinguiſhed merit, and himſelf a native of Scotland, remonſtrating with him on the impropriety of the diſpoſition he had made, was treated with neglect and rudeneſs, and predicted a total defeat, which, however, he diſdained to ſurvive, falling glorioufly, covered with wounds, in the midſt of the enemy, and in ſight of his own manſion. In conſequence of this victory, the pretended Prince Regent ſaw himſelf abſolute maſter of Scotland, a few fortreſſes excepted. He received large ſupplies from France, and was joined by the Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty,

marty, Balmerino, and many other perſons of rank and diſtinction; and the enterpriſe, romantic as it originally appeared, began to wear a ſerious aſpect. The Campbells, the Monroes, the Macdonalds, and other loyal clans, aſſembled, however, in arms, in defence of the government, under the Earl of Loudon. An army was collected in England under General Wade, who received orders to march to the north, and proceeded as far as Newcaſtle. The Prince Pretender, however, reſolving to try his fortune in the ſouth, took the route of Carliſle, which ſurrendered to him in November. Another army, under Sir John Ligonier, was now forming in Staffordſhire: Notwithſtanding which, the Prince determined to proceed, hoping for a cooperation from a body of French forces on the ſouthern coaſt, and not doubting but he ſhould be joined by great numbers of the Engliſh malcontents in his progreſs through the kingdom. In this expectation, however, he was grievouſly diſappointed; at Mancheſter, only, was he received with any demonſtrations of joy. Croſſing the Merſey at Stockport, he advanced through Macclesfield and Congleton to Derby, which was the extreme point of his progreſs; for, underſtanding that the King had determined to take the field in perſon, and to ſet up the ſtandard of England on Finchley Common,—the Earl of Stair, Field-Mareſchal of Great Britain, being, at this momentous criſis, again received into favor

favor and confidence, and appointed General of the royal army—he took a ſudden reſolution, though he had actually advanced within a few days march of the metropolis, to provide for his ſafety by a retreat. This amounted plainly to a virtual relinquiſhment of his object, which, indeed, could only be accompliſhed by a ſeries of deſperate efforts, crowned with continual and deciſive ſucceſs. A ſingle diſaſter muſt, in his ſituation, be fatal. No ſooner was the reſolution formed for retreating to the north, than it was carried into effect with almoſt incredible diligence and celerity. Abandoning Derby December 6, their vanguard entered Mancheſter on the ninth, and on the nineteenth they reached Carliſle; and, after reinforcing the garriſon at that place, the rebel army croſſed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, with all their artillery and military ſtores, eluding the attempts of both the adverſe armies to intercept them on this memorable march, in which no violence was offered, no outrage or rapine committed, in a country abounding with plunder, and preſenting every temptation to the unreſtrained indulgence of military rapacity. On the twenty-firſt of December Carliſle was inveſted by the Duke of Cumberland, who had now aſſumed the chief command, and ſurrendered on the thirtieth at diſcretion. In the mean time, the Prince Regent proceeded to Glaſgow, from which place he exacted heavy contributions,

butions, in revenge for the loyalty they had diſplayed in the courſe of the rebellion; after which he inveſted the caſtle of Stirling, though with little proſpect of ſucceſs. General Hawley, now at the head of the King's forces in North Britain, marched to Falkirk, in order to relieve this fortreſs by an attack upon the rebels. On the ſeventeenth of January 1746, however, the General was himſelf unexpectedly attacked by them, and, after ſuſtaining for ſome time a diſorderly and irregular fight, was compelled to a precipitate retreat, not, indeed, ſuffering ſo much loſs as diſgrace, it having been cuſtomary with him to boaſt that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Duke of Cumberland in perſon being now arrived at Edinburgh with large reinforcements, took upon him the command, and moving towards Linlithgow, the rebels not only abandoned the ſiege of Stirling caſtle, but paſſed the Forth with evident ſymptoms of conſternation; and the Prince Pretender ſtill continuing to advance northward, the Duke of Cumberland, after ſecuring the important paſſes of Stirling and Perth, advanced to Aberdeen. This changeful drama now drew towards a termination. In the beginning of April (1746) the Duke began his march from Aberdeen, and, on the twelfth, paſſed the deep and rapid river Spey, in ſight of the advanced poſts of the enemy, without oppoſi-

tion.

tion. At Nairne, his Royal Highneſs received intelligence that the Prince Pretender had advanced from Inverneſs to Culloden, in order to give him battle. On the ſixteenth, the Duke decamped from Nairne early in the morning, and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the rebel army drawn up in battalia in thirteen diviſions. About one in the afternoon the engagement began, and the Highlanders attempted, as formerly at Preſton-pans, to break the royal troops, by ruſhing down with their broad-ſwords and Lochaber axes; but being now prepared for this mode of fighting, they received the enemy with fixed bayonets, and kept up a continual firing by platoons, which did prodigious execution. Being thrown into viſible diſorder, the cavalry of the royal army attacked them in flank, and, in leſs than thirty minutes, the battle was converted into a general rout; and, orders being iſſued to give no quarter, vaſt numbers were ſlain in the purſuit. It is even affirmed, that unneceſſary and wanton barbarities were committed on the perſons and families of the rebels long after the ceſſation of reſiſtance; and that the Duke of Cumberland ſullied the glory of his victory, by diſplaying a ſavage thirſt of revenge, and a courage untinctured with the feelings of humanity. As, nevertheleſs, the temper and conduct of this Prince were upon no other occaſion tainted with this imputation, it is reaſonable to believe, either that he

was

was tranſported into theſe temporary exceſſes by that rage which is ſo frequent and horrid a concomitant and characteriſtic of civil diſcord; or that he really conceived theſe ſeverities to be neceſſary for the prevention of farther reſiſtance on the part of the rebels. The Pretender eſcaped with great difficulty from the field of battle; and after wandering for the ſpace of many months a wretched and ſolitary fugitive among woods and lakes and mountains, and paſſing through a ſeries of the moſt extraordinary and romantic adventures, to be paralleled only by thoſe of King Charles II. after the battle of Worceſter, he found means, on the twentieth of September, to embark on board a ſmall veſſel, which conveyed him to Morlaix, in Bretagne. The executions which enſued on the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion ſeemed much more numerous than the neceſſity of the caſe required; and the Lords Balmerino, Lovat *, and Kilmarnock, ſuffered the ſentence of decapitation on Tower Hill, as did alſo the Earl of Derwentwater, without any form of trial, being arraigned on the ſentence paſſed againſt him in 1716. The Earl of Cromarty only received a pardon. Both Houſes of Parliament preſented addreſſes of congratulation to his Mhjeſty, and of

* Lord Lovat, who was of a character infamouſly profligate, ſuffered with great dignity and reſolution: "So much eaſier is it, ſays Sir Dudley Carleton on a ſimilar occaſion, for a man to die well than to live well."

thanks

thanks to his Royal Highneſs the Duke, on this auſpicious occaſion. The ſum of twenty-five thouſand pounds *per annum* was added, by the Houſe of Commons, to the revenue of the Duke, now become the idol of the nation, and extolled as equal to the moſt illuſtrious of its heroes.

During theſe tranſactions in England, the triumphs of Mareſchal Saxe in Flanders ſtill continued. The King of France again taking the field in perſon, inveſted the city of Antwerp, which ſurrendered after a very ſlight reſiſtance. Mons made a better defence, but was compelled to capitulate before the end of June: And St. Guiſlain and Charleroy ſhared the fate of Mons and Antwerp. On the ſecond of December (1746) the trenches were opened before Namur, and, on the twenty-third, that ſtrong and important fortreſs, after an unavailing effort previouſly made by the Prince of Lorraine, who now commanded the confederate army, for its relief, ſurrendered to the arms of France. On the thirtieth of September, Mareſchal Saxe croſſed the Jaar, behind which river the Allies were poſted, near the village of Roucoux, in order to force them to a battle. After an obſtinate conflict, in which the Prince of Waldeck diſplayed heroic bravery, the Allies were obliged to abandon their poſts with the loſs of five thouſand men and thirty pieces of artillery, and retire to Maeſtricht; and this action terminated the campaign.

campaign. A ſingular inſtance of preſence of mind is recorded on this occaſion of the Earl of Crawford, who, being attended by his aide-du-camp and a few dragoons, had rode out the morning preceding the battle to reconnoitre the ſituation of the enemy, and fell in unexpectedly with one of their advanced guards: The ſergeant who commanded it immediately ordered his men to preſent their pieces; but the Earl, without the ſlighteſt emotion, told him there was no occaſion for that ceremony, and inquired if he had ſeen any of the enemies parties; and, being anſwered in the negative, replied, "Très bien—tenez vous ſur vos gardes—et ſi vous etiez attaqué, j'aurai ſoin que vous ſoyéz ſoutenu*." This incident coming to the knowlege of Mareſchal Saxe, that Commander diſmiſſed an officer on his parole with a complimentary meſſage to the Earl, aſſuring him "that he could not pardon the ſergeant for not procuring him the honor of his Lordſhip's company to dinner." The States of Holland began now to be ſeriouſly alarmed at the progreſs of the French, and declared themſelves determined to carry on the war with increaſe of vigor.

In March 1747, the allied forces took the field under the command of the Duke of Cumberland; the Prince of Waldeck and the Mareſchal Bathiani

* Very well—be upon your guard; and, if you are attacked, I will take care that you ſhall be ſupported.

conducting the Dutch and Auſtrian troops under him. The whole army amounted to more than one hundred thouſand men. But, on account of the unuſual inclemency of the weather, Mareſchal Saxe remained in his cantonments, contenting himſelf with obſtructing the ſupplies of the allied army, and publicly declaring he would teach the Duke of Cumberland, when his forces were ſufficiently diminiſhed by hunger and ſickneſs, that it is the firſt duty of a General to provide for the health and preſervation of his troops. In April, the French Commander detached Count Lowendahl, at the head of thirty thouſand men, to invade Dutch Flanders; and Sluys, Sas-van-Ghent, and Hulſt, were quickly reduced. The French General now prepared for a deſcent on Zealand; and the whole Dutch nation being ſeized with extreme conſternation, violent popular commotions took place throughout all the provinces. The people at large, ever attached to the Houſe of Orange, and mindful of the important ſervices rendered to the republic by that illuſtrious family, inſiſted upon the Prince of Orange's being immediately inveſted with the dignity of Stadtholder; and the States General not chuſing, or not daring, to oppoſe the general ſenſe of the nation, the Prince was on the ſecond day of May (1747) declared Stadtholder, and Captain-General and Admiral of the United Provinces; and, in the courſe of the enſuing year, the

the dignity was made hereditary in the Houſe of Orange. Upon this change in affairs, many ſpirited reſolutions paſſed in the Aſſembly of the States. An augmentation of the army was decreed, the peaſants were armed and exerciſed, inquiries were inſtituted into the conduct of the Governors who had ſurrendered the towns on the frontier, and hoſtilities were denounced againſt France both by ſea and land. Mareſchal Saxe, regardleſs of theſe internal changes and commotions, advanced with the grand army to Louvaine; and the Duke of Cumberland took poſt at Laffeldt, near Val, in order to cover the city of Maeſtricht. The Mareſchal determined upon a general attack, in order to diſlodge the enemy, and open the way to Maeſtricht. The Allies defended themſelves with great reſolution and perſeverance: The French were repeatedly broken and diſperſed; but freſh brigades continually ſucceeded to thoſe which retired, and the village was three times loſt and recovered: At length, the line being dangerouſly diſordered by an impetuous aſſault of the French cavalry, the Duke ordered a retreat, which was effected with inconſiderable loſs, chiefly through the extraordinary intrepidity and preſence of mind of Sir John Ligonier, who, at the head of a few Britiſh regiments of dragoons and ſquadrons of Imperial horſe, arreſted the purſuit of the whole French army. He was himſelf, his horſe being killed under him,

made priſoner; but the regiments he commanded retired unbroken from the field. When this officer was introduced to the preſence of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, that Monarch exclaimed, "When, Sir, will the King your maſter deign to grant us peace?" And he was ſoon releaſed on his parole, intruſted with certain general propoſitions of a pacific tendency, for the conſideration of the Engliſh Court.

The military arrangements of the Commander in chief were the ſubject of much cenſure on this occaſion. When the French firſt appeared on the heights of Herdeeren, the Mareſchal Bathiani urged the neceſſity of an immediate attack, but his advice was received with coldneſs and neglect; and the Commander in chief aſking the Mareſchal where he might be found in caſe of need, the Auſtrian haughtily replied, that he ſhould always be found at the head of his troops *. The Allies however, notwithſtanding their late defeat, were ſtill able to cover Maeſtricht from attack; and Mareſchal Saxe perceiving his original project diſconcerted, detached Count Lowendahl, with about

* We are told, that a French officer remarking to an Engliſh private, who had been made priſoner after diſplaying extraordinary marks of valor, that if there had been fifty thouſand ſuch men as he in the allied army they ſhould have found it very difficult to conquer them; the Engliſhman replied, "there were men enough like me, but we wanted one like Mareſchal Saxe."

fifty

fifty thouſand men, to lay ſiege to Bergen-op-Zoom, the ſtrongeſt fortification of Dutch Brabant, and accounted almoſt impregnable, being the *chef-d'œuvre* of the famous engineer Coehorn. The enemy appeared before the walls on the twelfth of July, and from this time to the middle of September, a tremendous ſcene of carnage was exhibited. The roar of bombs, mortars, and cannon, was inceſſantly heard, and all the dreadful apparatus of war diſplayed. Baron Cronſtrom, a gallant old veteran, being appointed to the command of the fortreſs, repeated and deſperate ſallies were made by the garriſon, and mines ſprung with horrible ſucceſs. It was generally believed that Count Lowendahl would be obliged to abandon his enterpriſe; but ſome inconſiderable breaches being made in a ravelin and two adjoining baſtions, the Count determined upon an aſſault. The Governor not imagining the breaches practicable, had taken no precautions to guard againſt the attack, which was made with aſtoniſhing intrepidity on the night of the ſixteenth of September. The ſucceſs of the attempt juſtified the apparent raſhneſs of it. The French gained the ramparts, and formed, before the garriſon could aſſemble. The Baron being awakened from his ſleep, was informed that the French were in poſſeſſion of the town, and with difficulty effected his own eſcape. Thus the enemy became entire maſters of the navigation of the

enter into ſuch engagements with other powers as might be neceſſary for the ſupport of his allies, and the reſtoration of the balance of Europe;" the Earl of Cheſterfield roſe, and expreſſed his hope that by *vigorous meaſures* were not intended ſuch wild attempts and romantic expeditions as might hazard the national honor and ſafety, without the poſſibility of advantage; that we were not called upon to ſquander millions, and ſtain the fields of the Continent with the blood of our countrymen, without being fully informed concerning the end and object of the war; that we were not to ſtand alone againſt the united power of the Houſe of Bourbon, and ſacrifice our lives and fortunes for thoſe who will not endeavour to defend themſelves. The true intereſt of England, my Lords, ſaid this Nobleman, is to be at peace with its neighbours; for peace is the parent of proſperity; and, when I find the Governors of a nation inclined to war, I am always ready to aſk them, by what mode of calculation they can compute the coſts, or aſcertain the conſequences; and I think it my duty to warn them againſt ſuch counſels as may precipitate their country into an abyſs of poverty and ruin. When I hear a propoſal for declaring war, I figure to myſelf a ſuſpenſion of commerce, a decay of wealth, an increaſe of taxes, a ſtate of impatience, anxiety, and diſcontent. Should the war prove unſucceſsful, the acrimony of revenge will ſtrongly incite us to the

the continuance of it. If it be proſperous, we ſhall be eaſily deluded into the imagination that the empty glitter of military glory is preferable to the plenty and tranquillity of peace; and that we flouriſh as a nation when we adorn our public halls with the ſtandards and enſigns of Spain and France. To theſe general maxims, however, the conduct of the preſent Miniſters, ſaid his Lordſhip, may perhaps be cited as an exception; for, though the war with Spain is the only war deſired by the people, and the only war which it is their intereſt to proſecute, they who have aſſumed the management of our affairs appear neither fired by revenge, nor irritated by diſgrace, at the loſſes and diſappointments we have ſuſtained in the progreſs of it. This war, ſo important to our commercial intereſts, only has been neglected—this alone has been forgotten. We have been told of the danger which may ariſe to the State from the boldneſs of political diſcuſſion—"*flagrante bello*;" but, my Lords, who does not ſee that the expreſſion is inapplicable, and that the noble Secretary ſhould have ſaid *languente bello?* Spain, weak and defenceleſs as ſhe is, laughs at our armaments, and perceives no other conſequence from our declaration of war than a greater licenſe of plunder, and a more eaſy diſtribution of prizes."

The Miniſter, in a ſpeech of great ability and eloquence, attempted to defend the meaſures of his admi-

adminiſtration. "He called the attention of the Houſe to the ſtate of affairs on the Continent a few ſummers paſt, when the Empire was over-run by the arms of France; when the Queen of Hungary was attacked by Pruſſia on the one ſide, and Bavaria on the other; when, to ſecure her perſon from captivity, ſhe was compelled to abandon her capital, and her condition was conſidered as hopeleſs and irretrievable. To the powerful aſſiſtance of Great Britain alone is it owing, ſaid he, that the armies of France have been obliged, with diſgraceful precipitation, to evacuate the Empire; that her ally, the Emperor, is left, without ſuccour, a helpleſs ſpectator of the conqueſt of his hereditary dominions; and that Pruſſia is converted from a dangerous enemy into a firm friend and ally. Such had been the ſucceſs, and ſuch the conſequences, of the meaſures which he had recommended, and of which he now with confidence demanded the approbation and *vigorous ſupport* of that illuſtrious Aſſembly. Armies are only to be repelled by armies, and they who engage in war muſt reſolve to ſuſtain the calamities inſeparable from it. In the preſent conjuncture, no meaſures can be called wiſe or prudent which are not vigorous. By vigor only can the Houſe of Auſtria be reſtored, and by the reſtoration of the Houſe of Auſtria only can the balance of power be preſerved. That the war againſt Spain had been either negligently or unſuc-

ceſsfully proſecuted the Miniſter poſitively denied: At this moment we blockaded both her fleets and her armies. It was known to all Europe that the Spaniſh Generals in Italy were continually embarraſſed and impeded in all their enterpriſes by the operations of the Britiſh fleet. And it is not, perhaps, eaſy to conceive a more deſtructive method of carrying on war than that of ſhutting up an army in an enemy's country, where it cannot be ſuccoured, and from which it cannot be recalled; no proſpect remaining but that of periſhing by hardſhips and famine. But Spain is not the adverſary againſt which our force ought chiefly to be directed: There is an enemy nearer and more formidable—an enemy which, equally in war and peace, endeavors our deſtruction —an enemy ſo inſidious, that the utmoſt friendſhip which can ſubſiſt between us is only an intermiſſion of hoſtility—an enemy whoſe perpetual object it is in all her deſigns and tranſactions, whether ſhe ratifies or violates treaties, whether ſhe offers mediation or foments diſcord, whether ſhe courts or inſults her neighbours, to weaken and depreſs all other powers, and to exalt herſelf to univerſal dominion. The ambition and pride of France, infatuated as that nation is with the glory of their monarch and the deſire of aggrandizing their empire, are permanent and hereditary. If one King dies, another ſucceeds to the ſame views; and if a Miniſter be removed, it is becauſe they hope the grand deſign

deſign of enſlaving the world will be more actively carried on by another. Againſt ſuch an enemy, if it be neceſſary to make war, it is ſurely neceſſary to proſecute it with our utmoſt force; becauſe war is a calamity to which a deſirable and ſecure termination can be put only by ſucceſs, and ſucceſs is only to be obtained by vigor. It is yet, my Lords, happily in our power to check them in their career, and fix, it may be hoped, more laſting barriers of empire, which ſhall for ever deſtroy that thirſt of boundleſs dominion which has given ſo much diſturbance to mankind." Such were the glowing colors with which this eloquent Stateſman had the art to varniſh over the raſhneſs and abſurdity of his meaſures; and ſuch the arguments by which the Houſe was induced to give its ſanction to the propoſed addreſs.

A motion being made in the Houſe of Commons for the diſcharge of the Hanoverian mercenaries, Mr. Pitt contended, with much warmth, "that there exiſted no neceſſity of hiring auxiliary troops, ſince it had never been ſhewn that either juſtice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the Continent. The Miniſter, he ſaid, affected to ſpeak of the balance of power, the Pragmatic Sanction, the preſervation of the Queen of Hungary, as if England only were concerned in re-eſtabliſhing the Houſe of Auſtria in its former grandeur, and that the power of France were formidable to Great Britain

tain alone. The King of England, no leſs in his electoral than his regal capacity, had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and the troops hired by England were, no leſs than ourſelves, allies of the Queen of Hungary. Suppoſing the aſſiſtance granted to the Queen of Hungary a matter of right and juſtice, due by ſolemn treaty, Hanover is equally bound with us to obſerve the terms of this treaty: Or, if it be an act of mere generoſity, why ſhould the Elector of Hanover diſplay his generoſity at the expenſe of the people of England? But the tranſactions of every year exhibited proofs of this *perfidious partiality*. Few of the Members of that Houſe, it might be preſumed, had forgotten the ever-memorable treaty, of which the tendency was diſcovered in the name—the treaty of Hanover; by which we diſunited ourſelves from Auſtria, deſtroyed that building which we may now endeavor in vain to raiſe again, and weakened the only power which it was our intereſt to ſtrengthen. He declared, in animadverting on that paragraph of the King's ſpeech which called the attention of Parliament to the late change of affairs in Europe, that we had indeed felt a very remarkable change; from one extreme we had run to the utmoſt verge of another. Our former Miniſter betrayed the intereſt of his country by his puſillanimity; our preſent Miniſter ſacrified it by his Quixotiſm. Inſtead of acceding to every treaty however diſhonorable, we

now

own retreat to Hanau, leaving our ſlain unburied on the field, and our wounded to the mercy of the enemy. This action may therefore, on our ſide, be called a *lucky eſcape;* but I ſhall never give my conſent to honor it with the name of a victory. When the French at length repaſſed the Rhine at the approach of Prince Charles of Lorraine, was any thing done by the allied army? I know of nothing but the exploit of ſending a party of huſſars into Lorraine with a manifeſto, though the Dutch auxiliaries had then joined our army. But had we been ſeconded by the whole power of Holland, inſtead of a ſmall detachment of their forces, the vaſt ſchemes we have formed would have been equally impracticable, and I ſhould only have lamented that this wiſe republic had become inſane through our example. I could wiſh eraſed from the annals and records of our hiſtory all mention of the famous treaty of Worms. By that deſtructive and ridiculous meaſure we have taken upon ourſelves a burden which it is impoſſible to ſupport; and we have involved ourſelves in the guilt of ſuch an act of injuſtice towards Genoa as muſt alarm all Europe, and give the French a ſignal advantage. From thence all Europe will ſee what regard we have to equity when we think we have power, and have ſhewn how much it is the general intereſt to prevent its increaſe. I hope, therefore, we ſhall now ſee the neceſſity of putting a ſtop to the farther proſecution

of

of theſe dangerous and ruinous projects. If we put a negative upon this queſtion, it may awaken Miniſters out of their deluſive dream; if we agree to it, they will dream on until they have dreamed Europe and their country, as well as themſelves, into perdition *."

The ſame queſtion which had been agitated with equal or greater warmth in the Houſe of Peers, was, in the courſe of the Seſſion, renewed with a ſlight variation in point of form. And the Lords in oppoſition indulged themſelves in vehement, although hiſtoric impartiality muſt pronounce them for the moſt part captious and groundleſs, invectives againſt the conduct of theſe mercenaries, and the groſs partiality pretended to be ſhewn them on all occaſions. They were declared to be a burden on the nation, equally hateful and ignominious, and more the

* The characters of the two Miniſters, Walpole and Carteret, were contraſted by a political writer of this period, with extraordinary felicity, in the following paſſage from Cicero, originally applied to Cæſar and Antony with his aſſociates:

"An vos eſtis, ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore quod cogitarat, effecerat: Muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, multitudinem imperitam delenierat, ſuos præmiis, adverſarios clementiæ ſpecie devinxerat—quid multa? attulerat jam liberæ civitati partim metu, partim patientia, conſuetudinem ſerviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupidine comparare poſſum, cæteris vero rebus nullo modo eſtis comparandi."

objects of political deteſtation than the enemies againſt whom they were employed; and the whole ſyſtem of Continental and Hanoverian politics became again the theme of the ſevereſt animadverſion. The Earl of Halifax, a young Nobleman diſtinguiſhed by his political and perſonal accompliſhments, expreſſed, in warm and eloquent language, "his indignation that England ſhould be condemned to waſte the treaſure and the lives of its inhabitants in quarrels which either did not at all regard its intereſts, or regarded them only remotely and conſequentially. He declared himſelf unable to diſcover for what reaſon we, who were not principals in the war, and have no ſeparate intereſt to promote, ſhould hire mercenaries to carry it on, at an immenſe and intolerable expenſe. We are now contending, ſaid this Nobleman, not for our rights and privileges—not for our perſons, our liberty, or our property. We are attempting by force of arms to fix what the courſe of events is ever tending to unfix—the balance of Europe. The balance of Europe has a powerful and faſcinating ſound, which has been frequently employed to ſubject this nation to the oppreſſive exactions of foreign powers. When the people complain of the load of taxes, and the perpetual increaſe of burdens, of which they were never able to perceive any effect, or derive any advantage, they are ſtilled with the neceſſity of ſupporting the balance of Europe.

Europe. When they cry aloud for juſtice againſt their domeſtic oppreſſors—when they demand that the deceivers and flatterers of the Prince ſhould be brought to puniſhment—and the proper intereſts of the nation alone diligently and faithfully purſued, they are cenſured and ſtigmatized as wretches ignorant of the true principles of policy, and who have no regard to the balance of Europe. The folly and guilt of this conduct were not unknown during the laſt adminiſtration to the noble Lord who now aſſumed the direction of foreign affairs, and was reprobated by him with generous warmth and all the appearance of honeſt deteſtation. But we have often ſeen that opinions are variable with other human things. The ſyſtem of the noble Lord is now entirely changed, and, to uſe the language of the medical *charlatan*, the heart is removed to the other ſide."

Lord Carteret, with his accuſtomed energy of language and plauſibility of argument, entered into an elaborate defence of his miniſterial conduct. He declared, "that a propoſition to withdraw all our forces from the Continent, and, inſtead of courting danger in foreign countries, to ſleep in ſecurity till we are awakened by an alarm upon our own coaſts, would be far leſs unreaſonable than the motion actually before the Houſe; for, doubtleſs, it is better to enjoy peace, however precarious, than to carry on a war with certainty of

defeat, and to ruſh into the field of battle only to be overborne by the number of our enemies. Is it ſeriouſly meant that we are to neglect all the rules of war and all the maxims of policy, and to ſet our enemies at defiance, expecting aſſiſtance from cauſes inviſible or præternatural? The Lords who ſupport the motion muſt know, that a compliance with it would be virtually to yield up all for which WILLIAM and MARLBOROUGH fought—all which can ſecure our own independence or the liberties of the Continent. The topics enlarged upon by the noble Lords, of numerous armies and burdenſome expenſes, are ſuch as will always raiſe a declaimer high in the eſteem of the people, whoſe ſufferings he appears to compaſſionate, and whoſe cauſe he profeſſes to defend; and meaſures, however neceſſary and however juſt, *muſt* be unpopular for a time, of which the expenſe is immediate and the advantage diſtant. It is the opinion of ſome, that, from the nature of our ſituation, we may bid defiance to the reſt of mankind, and, from our rocks and floating caſtles, look with unconcern and tranquillity upon all the commotions of the European kingdoms; but if any one monarchy has, by any means, ariſen to ſuch an height of grandeur as to make it juſtly formidable to the reſt of Europe, threatening the eventual ſubverſion of all the kingdoms on the Continent, ſurely Great Britain has more cogent reaſons than any other

nation

nation to endeavor the ſuppreſſion of ſuch a power, becauſe of all nations ſhe has moſt to loſe; and, being fartheſt exalted above ſlavery, muſt feel proportionate pain from political depreſſion. But this purpoſe can be effected only by ſupporting on the Continent ſome power capable of oppoſing the ambitious projects of France; and it is univerſally admitted, that the Houſe of Auſtria alone can be deemed of weight to be placed in the balance againſt the Houſe of Bourbon. If the Houſe of Auſtria is to be ſupported, we muſt ſubmit to the expenſe neceſſary for its ſupport. Nothing, therefore, can be more improper than this motion, unleſs it were intended that the cauſe of general liberty ſhould be inſtantly and totally abandoned, and that we ſhould ſubmiſſively conſign to France the fate of ourſelves and our poſterity. By the diſſeminations of falſehood and malignity the nation has been irritated, and diſcontent has, indeed, too generally prevailed: But, by the ſame arts, the ſame odium might and would have attended any other ſcheme; and the preſent clamor will, in a ſhort time, give way to the force of reaſon and truth. Upon a former occaſion, in which the neutrality of Hanover was the ſubject of diſcuſſion, I obſerved that, if England were to be ſteered by that Electorate, it were neceſſary that the rudder ſhould be ſeparated from the ſhip. This was then my opinion; for then, my Lords, England was

ſubſervient to Hanover: But Hanover is now ſubſervient to England, and regulated by our meaſures; for who can doubt but a neutrality might have been eaſily obtained for that Electorate? but his Majeſty ſcorned to exempt himſelf from hazard, by countenancing the claims of ambition, and would not forbear to aſſiſt his ally only becauſe her diſtreſs was urgent, and her danger imminent. It is evident, upon the whole, then, my Lords, that the war has been conducted with wiſdom and ſucceſs—that the troops of Hanover were not retained but by the counſel and authority of the legiſlature—that they have been eminently uſeful in contributing to the expulſion of the armies of France—that, though objections more worthy of notice could be produced, thoſe troops cannot, at this juncture, be diſmiſſed, becauſe other troops cannot be obtained ſo ſoon as the exigencies of the war require."

The queſtion was at length put, and the motion rejected by a majority of eighty-ſix Peers againſt forty-ſix: But a very ſtrong proteſt was ſigned by the minority, and the meaſure was manifeſtly carried in both Houſes by the influence of the Court, againſt the unanimous voice of the nation, which loudly exclaimed againſt the intereſted ambition and political apoſtacy of the Miniſter, who had now involved himſelf and his country too deeply

in

in the quarrels of the Continent to be able to recede either with honor or with ſafety.

In the courſe of this important and intereſting Seſſion, the Houſe of Commons, appriſed of the recent machinations of the Court of St. Germains, ſent up to the Lords a bill, making it high treaſon to correſpond with the ſons of the Pretender. On the commitment of this bill, the Lord Chancellor Hardwick moved, that the committee be inſtructed to receive a clauſe for continuing the penalties and forfeitures legally incurred by the deſcendants of traitors, to the death of the ſons of the Pretender, and which, by the operation of an act paſſed in the reign of Queen Anne, expired with the Pretender himſelf. On which the Duke of Bedford aroſe, and, in a very able manner, ſtated his reaſons for refuſing his aſſent to the motion. "His Grace declared his zeal for the ſecurity of the Conſtitution, and of the ſettlement of the Crown in the preſent family, to be in no degree inferior to that of any of their Lordſhips: And he expreſſed his conviction that a Prince forced upon us by the armies and fleets of France would be only the viceroy of the monarch to whom he owes his exaltation. Nevertheleſs, ſaid this Nobleman, your Lordſhips will not be ſurpriſed that I am alarmed at the proſpect of a law like this. I, whoſe family has ſuffered ſo lately the deprivation of its rank and fortune by the tyranny of a court—whoſe grand-

father was cut off by an unjuſt proſecution—and whoſe father was condemned for many years to ſee himſelf diveſted of the rights of his birth, which were at length reſtored to him by more equitable judges;—it is ſurely reaſonable, my Lords, that I ſhould oppoſe the extenſion of penalties to the deſcendents of offenders, who have ſcarce myſelf eſcaped the blaſt of an attainder*. Whatever may be the malice of our enemies, the ill ſucceſs of paſt attempts is a convincing proof that government can have no juſt cauſe of fear; that recourſe, therefore, need not be had to new degrees of ſeverity, or the enacting penal laws of an extraordinary kind, to prevent that which experience has ſhewn impoſſible to be accompliſhed. On the preſent occaſion, my Lords, the people have demonſtrated their loyalty

* In the illuſtrious roll of martyrs to the cauſe of liberty, no name ſtands more conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed, or is written in fairer characters, than that of Lord RUSSEL, whoſe patriotiſm appears unſullied with any baſe alloy of perſonal reſentment or intereſt. In reply to thoſe ſophiſtical reaſons by which Burnet, afterwards Biſhop of Sarum, attempted to draw from this Nobleman an inglorious acknowlegement of culpability in meditating reſiſtance to tyranny, he made this excellent and memorable declaration—"That he could form no conception of a limited monarchy which had no right to defend its own limitations." So long as ſenſibility and gratitude are numbered amongſt the affections of the human heart, ſo long ſhall we honor with a ſupreme reverence thoſe who have dared to die for their country; and, with an almoſt ſuperſtitious devotion,

"Kiſs with joy the ſacred earth
That gave a HAMPDEN or a RUSSEL birth."

by

by innumerable addreſſes from all parts, drawn up in terms expreſſive of the firmeſt fidelity and the warmeſt affection—profeſſions which ſurely deſerve far other return than the ſeverity of a penal law, by which one perſon is condemned to ſuffer for the crime of another. If it be neceſſary, my Lords, that ſubjects ſhould obey their governors, it is no leſs neceſſary that governors ſhould not haraſs their ſubjects by cauſeleſs ſuſpicion; for this will certainly tend to weaken their affections—it may incite them to violate their duties. The multiplicity of penal laws, the eſtabliſhment of armies, the diſtribution of penſions, are tranſitory and uncertain ſupports of government, which the firſt blaſt of diſcontent may drive before it, and which have a tendency to produce that rage which they cannot furniſh the means of reſiſting. Ten thouſand penal laws cannot ſo much contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the preſent royal family as one act of confidence, condeſcenſion, or bounty, by which the affections of the people may be conciliated. We are not, my Lords, to appeaſe the ſuſpicions of the throne by ſacrificing the ſafety or happineſs of the people: We are, indeed, to ſupport our Sovereign, but not by ſuch means as to deſtroy the ends for which ſovereignty was eſtabliſhed—the public welfare and common ſecurity. How, then, can we aſſent to a meaſure which may involve thouſands in undeſerved miſery, by puniſhing them for crimes which

they did not commit, and which it was not in their power to prevent—and inflicting penalties in order to enrich by forfeitures the minions of a court? But excluſive of theſe conſiderations, and to advert to an objection of a different nature, what evidence exiſts by which it can be aſcertained that there never will come a time, in which a ſuperſtitious, ambitious, or tyrannical Prince may once more attempt the ſubverſion of the rights and liberties of the kingdom? If, then, a time ſo fatal ſhall ever arrive, and another revolution be neceſſary, how muſt a law like this damp the ardor of that patriotiſm by which all revolutions have been accompliſhed? Who will be found hardy enough to oppoſe the Crown, when not only himſelf but his whole poſterity are involved in the danger and ruin of a failure? We are to reflect, that the King may not only be in danger from his people, but that the people may be in danger from their King; and as, on the one hand, no privilege ſhould be conferred tending to the encouragement of popular ſedition; on the other, no prerogative ought to be endured which may incite to acts of royal oppreſſion. The dependence of the monarch and the ſubject ought to be on reciprocal affection and mutual aſſiſtance; and, if I am deſirous of ſecuring the throne, it is not by diſarming the people, but by placing them as guards before it." The clauſe in queſtion was alſo vigorouſly and eloquently oppoſed

poſed by the Lords Talbot, Cheſterfield, and others —and defended by the Lords Carteret and Hardwick, and Secker, Biſhop of Oxford, though a meaſure flagrantly incompatible with the mild and benevolent ſpirit of Chriſtianity. The queſtion being put, it paſſed in the affirmative; but it was accompanied with a ſtrong and animated proteſt.

The bill, when returned to the Commons with this new and unexpected clauſe, occaſioned great diſſatisfaction and oppoſition. Mr. Fazakerley, the original mover of the bill, expreſſed, in warm and indignant language, his deteſtation of the clauſe added by the Lords. "Forfeitures and confiſcations, he ſaid, he had always regarded as unjuſt, cruel, and of dangerous conſequence to the liberties of a free people. As to the authority of Grotius and Puffendorf—which had been adduced in the courſe of an elaborate ſpeech in defence of the amendment by the Attorney General, Sir Dudley Ryder—he ſaid, they wrote in countries where forfeitures for treaſon had been eſtabliſhed for ages, at a period far leſs enlightened than the preſent, when it would have been not only unuſual but dangerous abſolutely and explicitly to have condemned them, and an *indirect diſapprobation* is eaſily diſcernible. At any rate, we are not blindly to reſign our judgments either to the learned Grotius, or the learned Puffendorf. Still leſs ſatisfactory was the appeal made to the divine than to human authority in

in vindication of this law. It is certain that we find no ſuch puniſhment inflicted by the law of Moſes: And if David ſeized, as the learned Gentleman has affirmed to the Houſe, upon the eſtate of Saul, this was certainly the *commiſſion*, and not the *penalty*, of treaſon. As to the caſe of Mephiboſheth, he was not ſo much as accuſed of treaſon, but of ingratitude; and the puniſhment inflicted upon him was the mere act of arbitrary power. But admitting that the Kings of the Jews acted upon the principle of this iniquitous law, their example can be no authority; for Samuel had before warned the Jews of the oppreſſions they were to expect from Kings: He had told them that the King would take their fields, their vineyards, and their olive-trees, and give the beſt of them to his ſervants. The charge of treaſon was no doubt made uſe of to furniſh a pretext for theſe enormous injuries; and the experience of our own government may convince us what tyranny might be exerciſed under a veil ſo ſpecious. It will be alleged, perhaps, that this law, however inconſiſtent with humanity and juſtice, is neceſſary to the preſervation of the government: But is this the fact in the eaſtern countries, where puniſhments ſtill more horrid and barbarous are inflicted in caſes of this nature? Theſe unjuſt and odious penalties only ſerve to lull a government into a fatal ſecurity, and to embolden arbitrary Miniſters to tyrannize over

the

the people, till, inflamed by repeated acts of oppreſſion, the train is ſet fire to, and the Miniſters, with their maſter, are blown up by the combuſtibles which they had ſo aſſiduouſly prepared for the deſtruction of others." The Houſe, however, agreed to the amendment, by a majority of eighty voices; and a new proof was exhibited to the world of how little eſtimation, in the view of Princes, are all conſiderations of moral and political juſtice, when deemed incompatible with their intereſt or ſecurity.

This year, 1743, the Swedes terminated an unſucceſsful war with Ruſſia, by a peace ſigned at Abo, by which they were totally detached from their political connection with France. This event, ſo intimately affecting the general ſtate of politics in Europe, requires a diſtinct elucidation. At the death of the laſt Monarch of Sweden, the celebrated Charles XII. (A. D. 1718), who had governed with a ſway the moſt arbitrary and imperious, and whoſe raſh and romantic enterpriſes had reduced his country to the verge of ruin, Sweden found itſelf in a ſituation the moſt favorable for finally aboliſhing deſpotiſm, and eſtabliſhing a free and equal government on a ſolid and permanent baſis. A Diet being immediately convoked, the throne of Sweden was declared VACANT—Charles having died without iſſue, and the claim of his ſiſters to the ſucceſſion being barred, conformably

to

to a fundamental law of the kingdom, by their previous marriage. The States, therefore, determined to make an offer of the crown to Ulrica Eleanora, conſort of Frederic, hereditary Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, ſubſequently aſſociated in the government, to the excluſion of the Duke of Holſtein, ſon of the elder ſiſter, on the expreſs condition that this Princeſs ſhould declare her readineſs to hold the crown in virtue of a FREE ELECTION; and ſhould take an oath to adhere to the new *formula* or model of government, now, by the authority of the nation, ſolemnly inſtituted—" the Counſellors and States of the kingdom aſſembled, having, as they expreſs themſelves, experienced the ſad conſequences of that arbitrary power which has ſo much weakened and injured the kingdom, to the almoſt irreparable ruin of us all, have ſeriouſly and unanimouſly reſolved to aboliſh entirely a power which has proved ſo prejudicial." It is to be remarked, that the Diet, or States General of the kingdom of Sweden, conſiſts of four diſtinct chambers or houſes—the Nobles, the Clergy, the Burghers, the Peaſants. Theſe, agreably to the conſtitution now eſtabliſhed, were to be convoked every three years, or more frequently, if occaſion required. And ſhould the King, or Senate in his abſence, neglect to aſſemble them at the expiration of this term, or even ſhould they not convoke them on the very day the States had, the laſt time they were

were aſſembled, choſen to appoint for their next meeting, theſe ſhould then have a right to aſſemble of themſelves. And whatever the King or Senate ſhould have done in the mean time, was to be conſidered as void. The time ſpecified for the ſhorteſt legal duration of the Diet was three months; but the power of diſſolution was veſted in themſelves alone. While the States were aſſembled, they were in fact poſſeſſed of the whole ſupreme power; the authority of the King and Senate was then ſuſpended—they became mere cyphers, having little or no ſhare in the public tranſactions but what conſiſted ſimply in affixing their ſeals and ſignatures to whatever the Diet ſhould think proper to reſolve. The legiſlative power the States reſerved at all times wholly to themſelves, the King and the Senate not even poſſeſſing a negative on thoſe reſolutions which directly attacked the regal and ſenatorial rights. "For the preſervation of theſe, it is remarked with juſt deriſion*, they were to depend on the MODERATION OF A POPULAR ASSEMBLY." The following powers were likewiſe veſted in the States alone: Thoſe of declaring war or making peace—that of altering the ſtandard of the coin—whenever a vacancy happened in the Senate, that of preſenting to the King three perſons, one of whom his Majeſty was bound to make choice of to fill the va-

* Vide Hiſtory of the Swediſh Revolution, A. D. 1772, by Charles F. Sheridan, Eſq.

cant

cant office—laſtly, that of diſmiſſing any member of the Senate whoſe conduct they diſapproved. During the ſeſſion of the Diet, a ſtanding ſecret committee was choſen, ſelected from the three orders of Nobles, Clergy, and Burghers, of which one half were Nobles—the order of peaſants being too mean and inſignificant to be aſſociated in this commiſſion—by which the ordinary functions of the Senate were almoſt entirely ſuperſeded, and the executive powers of the government excluſively exerciſed. With regard to the judicial power, the States aſſumed to themſelves a right of exerciſing that alſo, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleaſure cauſes out of the high courts of juſtice eſtabliſhed by law, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themſelves, and compoſed of their own members. Nothing, therefore, could be more formidable than the power of this aſſembly, or more ſubverſive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itſelf the legiſlative, judicial, and executive powers—and as the province and juriſdiction of the occaſional tribunal comprehended all caſes of treaſon, ſedition, and public libel, it was evidently, at the ſame time, both judge and party. Even during the intervals of the Diets, the King was little more than a cypher of ſtate, and was diſtinguiſhed from the other Senators, conſiſting of fourteen in number, only by the privilege of a double voice in the firſt inſtance,

and

and of a caſting vote in caſe of an equality of voices. The Senate were empowered to aſſemble themſelves whenever they thought proper, and to tranſact the national buſineſs whether the King were preſent or not; and to their reſolutions his Majeſty was obliged to affix his ſignature. The great employments of the State were conferred by a majority of voices in the Senate; and, to others of inferior importance, three perſons were nominated by the Senate, one of whom the King was obliged to appoint. Thus the outward pomp and decorations of Majeſty were almoſt all that remained of a prerogative lately ſo formidable: But a more recent experience ſoon taught the Swedes that political oppreſſion might exiſt under a variety of forms, and that the liberty of the people was not neceſſarily increaſed in proportion as the power of the Monarch was diminiſhed; and the ſcenes of corruption, diſtraction, and anarchy, which enſued, were the moſt deciſive proofs of the numerous and radical defects of the new *formula* of government. When compared with the Britiſh conſtitution, the prodigious ſuperiority of the latter is manifeſt in almoſt every point of view in which they can be placed—their whole ſtructure, genius, and ſpirit, forming a moſt inſtructive and ſtriking contraſt. In England, the Crown is veſted by the conſtitution with the whole active power of government, ſubject to the authoritative inſpection and control of Parliament; and

it is alſo poſſeſſed, by means of its extenſive patronage, of that degree of influence over the legiſlative body which muſt not only preclude the idea of foreign intrigue and interference, but of that ſpecies of oppoſition which ariſes from the natural and inceſſant deſire of aggrandizement; the intereſts of the individual members being oppoſed to the aggregate intereſt of the body—the negative of the King and the power of diſſolution coming likewiſe in aid of that prerogative which is at once ſo open to the attack, and ſo unequal to the encounter. On the other hand, the conſtitutional powers of Parliament, and its component principles, are ſuch as eminently to qualify it for its province of legiſlation and control. The Houſe of Commons is inveſted with the ſole diſpoſal of the national revenue, which, of itſelf, gives it a decided preponderance over the other, and, with reſpect to rank, the higher branch of the legiſlature. The Commons of England are not, like the Commons of Sweden, divided into diſtinct chambers, by which their collective force is ſenſibly enfeebled. The Engliſh Houſe of Commons likewiſe contains a much greater combination of intereſts than, in conſequence of the abſurd reſtraints on the freedom of election, can take place in Sweden; where the burghers and peaſants muſt be actually of the ſeveral claſſes of the community which they repreſent. Alſo, in Sweden all the privileges of the Nobility,

that

that of ſitting in the Diet excepted, extending to all the deſcendants of Nobles, a vaſt proportion of the landed property of the kingdom, and almoſt all the military and civil offices, are confined to that privileged claſs; the ariſtocratic branch of the legiſlature, ſupported by this immenſe chain of connections and dependencies, riſing far above all competition: Whereas, in England, the deſcendants of the Nobility, the heirs of the title only excepted, are immediately blended with the general maſs of the community, and their political intereſts ſtand conſequently in unavoidable and direct oppoſition to thoſe of their neareſt relatives, as compoſing a diſtinct and privileged order. Thus the Nobles of England are placed in that preciſe rank which properly belongs to the moſt illuſtrious order of citizens in a free and well-governed community. Inveſted with the higheſt dignity, though not the higheſt power, of the State, they compoſe an hereditary Senate, peculiarly qualified, from that diſſimilarity of views and intereſts by which, as a diſtinct branch of the legiſlature, they muſt be neceſſarily actuated, for the province of reviſion, and reſiſtance to ambitious or inſidious innovation—ſtanding as a perpetual barrier againſt all attempts to encroach upon the conſtitutional prerogative of the Crown, upon which they depend as the firmeſt baſis of their own authority. For the weight of the democracy in the Engliſh conſtitution is ſuch, as

to preclude the ariſtocracy from the fainteſt hope of ſucceſs in any conteſt for pre-eminence which might ſucceed the eventual reduction or annihilation of the regal power. It cannot certainly be pretended, that the progreſſive improvement of former ages, or even the important and beneficial changes which took place at the Revolution, were the reſult of any comprehenſive abſtract ſpeculation; they were ſuch as the emergency of the occaſion rendered obvious and neceſſary; and we ſpeak of the wiſdom of the conſtitution, not with a reference to the ſpeculative ſagacity of individuals, but to the practical advantages and firm contexture of a form of government finiſhed, undoubtedly, more through happineſs than pains. It is true, indeed, that, through the groſs inequality of the preſent ſyſtem of repreſentation, deſtined doubtleſs, if Liberty ſurvive, to undergo a radical reform, a degree of influence is exerted by the executive power over the legiſlative, inconſiſtent with the true ſpirit of the conſtitution, and productive of the moſt injurious effects. Under ſuch a government as that eſtabliſhed in Sweden, it can excite no aſtoniſhment that the intrigues of foreign courts ſhould very powerfully and ſenſibly operate. In fact, from the æra of that eſtabliſhment, all the apparently weak and capricious tranſactions of this kingdom were guided ſolely by the predominance of the different political factions, the violent and malignant

conflicts

conflicts of which were excited and perpetuated by the moſt ſhameleſs corruption, univerſally practiſed, and almoſt openly avowed. The whole power of the State virtually reſting in the hands of the Nobles, no advance was made, or deſign entertained, to extend to the nation at large the bleſſings of civil liberty. And the people feeling themſelves in no degree relieved from the oppreſſion of the ancient government, notwithſtanding the ſyſtem of political liberty recently eſtabliſhed—of the excellence of which they heard indeed much, but comprehended little—were loud in their complaints of the miſconduct and tyranny of their rulers. The fixed policy of the leading men originally concerned in framing the new form of government *, who were perſons of virtue and probity, and, in all probability, far from being ſenſible of its imperfections, was, to renounce all ambition of foreign conqueſts, and aſſiduouſly to cultivate the friendſhip of Ruſſia, the ſuperiority of whoſe power they had ſo fatally experienced. And the influence of Ruſſia continued, with little interruption, to predominate in their councils till the meeting of the Diet in 1738, when, through the profuſion of French gold previouſly diſtributed amongſt its members, a great majority appeared determined to abandon the alliance of Ruſſia, and

* Count Horne is ſaid to have been the perſon principally concerned in the eſtabliſhment of this conſtitution—a Nobleman of unqeſtionable abilities and integrity.

to enter into a ſtrict connection with the Court of Verſailles; which flattered them with the chimerical hope of recovering, by a rupture with the Court of St. Peterſburg, their long-loſt provinces. And, at the inſtance of the French Miniſter, war was actually declared by Sweden againſt Ruſſia, without any juſt reaſons, or even plauſible pretences; the real motive on the part of France being, as the Queen of Hungary obſerved in her manifeſto, to prevent the Czarina from interpoſing in the affairs of the Empire. This unjuſt and impolitic war was undertaken by Sweden at a time when the armies of Ruſſia were returning triumphant from the Turkiſh campaigns; and the ſucceſs was ſuch as might be reaſonably expected. The Swediſh army in Finland was deſtroyed, and the whole of that country loſt. The Generals Lewenhaupt and Buddenbroek were ſacrificed to the fury of a faction. The government of Sweden, alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Ruſſians, were compelled to ſolicit a peace, which was granted upon very moderate terms, Ruſſia reſtoring the whole of her conqueſts, a ſmall diſtrict to the eaſtward of the Kymen only excepted. And, in return, the Swedes renewed their alliance with Ruſſia, and agreed to appoint Adolphus Frederic, Biſhop of Lubec, a Prince of the Houſe of Holſtein, nearly related to the Empreſs Elizabeth, ſucceſſor to the preſent King; the young Duke of Holſtein, grandſon of the elder

ſiſter

ſiſter of Ulrica, being deſtined to the ſucceſſion of Ruſſia, as nephew to the Empreſs, on his previous and formal renunciation of all claim to the Crown of Sweden. In alluſion to this tranſaction, as likewiſe to the late diſpoſition of the Crown of Poland, the Imperial Ambaſſador at Peterſburg obſerved to the Empreſs, "that he wiſhed his Court had found it as eaſy to keep poſſeſſion of kingdoms as it was to Ruſſia to give them away."

Though France had thus, by the perfidy of her own policy, loſt one uſeful ally, ſhe made vigorous efforts to indemnify herſelf by the acquiſition of another—the contiguous kingdom of Denmark. From the memorable æra in which the Danes made a voluntary ſurrender of their ancient liberties to the Monarch, the Kings of Denmark had been poſſeſſed of authority not inferior to that of any Sovereigns in Chriſtendom; and the want of ability, rather than of inclination, had ſince prevented them from making a more conſpicuous figure in the general hiſtory of Europe; as they never appeared reluctant or ſcrupulous in embracing any favorable opportunity of aggrandizement. Chriſtiern V. who acceded to the throne A.D. 1670, waged unſucceſsful war with the Swedes, in the vain hope of recovering the beautiful provinces of Halland, Schonen, and Bleking, loſt by his father Frederic III. and ceded to Sweden by the treaty of Roſchild, 1658. Chriſtiern dying in 1699, was ſuc-

ceeded by his ſon Frederic IV. who joined the confederacy againſt Charles XII. was beſieged by that Monarch in his capital, and compelled to ſubmit to the terms dictated by Sweden, under the mediation of England and Holland, at the treaty of Travendahl. After the decline of that Monarch's fortunes, Frederic renewed the war, and ſeized upon the Dutchies of Bremen, Verden, and Sleſwic, the latter of which was guaranteed to Denmark by King George I. in return for the ceſſion of the two former to Hanover. This Monarch dying A. D. 1730, was ſucceeded by Chriſtiern VI. a ſagacious and pacific Prince, who aſpired, nevertheleſs, when the ſucceſſion to the throne of Sweden was vacant, to revive the ancient and celebrated union of Calmar; and to combine by an indiſſoluble federation, the three Scandinavian kingdoms into one empire, under one head, in the perſon of his ſon. Flattered with the aid and aſſiſtance of France in the accompliſhment of this great object of his ambition, he relinquiſhed, at this period, the alliance, and refuſed the ſubſidies, of Great Britain, in order to connect himſelf with that rival power. But notwithſtanding that the idea of this union was very popular in Sweden, and was ſupported by a very ſtrong party in the Diet, the oppoſing politics of Ruſſia proved finally ſucceſsful; and the King of Denmark had the good ſenſe to deſiſt from the farther proſecution of a project which it was become too hazardous to attempt to enforce, although

great

great military preparations had been made for that purpoſe. But the Czarina declared, that, if the Swedes were attacked, ſhe would aſſiſt them with the whole force of her empire. The good underſtanding between Denmark and Great Britain was, immediately on the relinquiſhment of this viſionary ſcheme, reſtored and cemented by the marriage of Frederic, Prince Royal of Denmark, with Louiſa, youngeſt daughter of his Britannic Majeſty, which took place towards the concluſion of the preſent year. The King of Denmark ſurvived this alliance, which was productive of general ſatisfaction to the inhabitants of both kingdoms, little more than two years. The Princeſs Mary, third daughter to the King of England, had, at a period ſomewhat anterior to the events now related, been married to Frederic, Prince of Heſſe Caſſel, nephew to the King of Sweden, and preſumptive heir to the Landgraviate.

At this time, Admiral Matthews commanded with high reputation the Britiſh naval force in the Mediterranean. The Corſicans having revolted from the dominion of Genoa, and elected a German adventurer as their Sovereign, by the name of King Theodore, were ſupported and encouraged by this Commander, in revenge for the partiality ſhewn by the Genoeſe to the French and Spaniſh arms in Italy; though theſe brave iſlanders were, in the ſequel, forgotten and abandoned to their fate. Stores having been landed at Civita Vecchia for

for the uſe of the Spaniſh army under the Count de Gages, the Britiſh Admiral declared it to be a violation of the neutrality profeſſed by his Holineſs the POPE, and threatened a bombardment of that city; but deſiſted in conſequence of the interpoſition of his Sardinian Majeſty. The commerce of France and Spain was interrupted, many prizes made, their coaſts kept in continual alarm, and the combined ſquadrons of the two powers were blocked up for ſeveral ſucceſſive months in the harbor of Toulon. On the ninth of February 1744, they were at laſt perceived ſtanding out of the road, to the number of four and thirty ſail of the line. The Britiſh Admiral immediately weighed, and an engagement enſued, which, notwithſtanding the great ſuperiority of the Britiſh fleet, proved extremely indeciſive; and which was afterwards the ſubject of much and vehement debate and diſcuſſion. It is admitted that Matthews behaved with heroic gallantry; but he was very ill ſeconded by ſome of his officers, particularly by Admiral Leſtock, who, with his whole diviſion, remained at a great diſtance aſtern. It is not pretended that this officer was really deficient in courage, but he had long been upon very ill terms with his Commander, whom he affected to deſpiſe, and whoſe ſignals on the day of battle he affirmed to be unintelligible and inconſiſtent—ſheltering himſelf behind thoſe rigid rules of diſcipline, againſt which, in the criſis of danger, it is often the higheſt merit

glorioufly

gloriouſly to offend. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, ſuſpended Leſtock for diſobedience, and ſent him as a priſoner to England, where he, in return, accuſed, and recriminated upon his ſuperior. Theſe proceedings became the ſubject of parliamentary inveſtigation; and a court-martial was appointed to try the delinquents. It appears that the object of De Court, the French Commander, whoſe ſhips greatly outſailed thoſe of the Britiſh ſquadron, being to avoid an engagement, the Engliſh Commander was compelled to commence the attack before the line was completely formed: And he directed his principal effort againſt the Spaniſh diviſion, which ſailing in the rear of the French, and at ſome diſtance, he endeavored to cut off—being himſelf, in the Namur, cloſely engaged with the Spaniſh Admiral Don Navarro, in the Royal Philip, an immenſe ſhip of one hundred and fourteen guns. Admiral Leſtock was, at this time, five miles aſtern, ſuffering, by an obſtinate adherence to the ſignal for the line of battle, then flying at the ſame time with the ſignal for a cloſe engagement, the rearmoſt ſhips of the Spaniſh ſquadron to paſs him: On which Admiral Matthews, though bravely ſeconded by Captain Cornewall, in the Marlborough, who gloriouſly fell in the action, and other ſhips of his own diviſion, was obliged to relinquiſh his prey at a moment when he flattered himſelf that ſhe could not have eſcaped him, being,

as he affirms in his public letter, "within muſket ſhot of the Royal Philip, then lying a mere wreck, when the ſternmoſt ſhips of the enemy came up and tore him to pieces." In the reſult, Admiral Leſtock, to the general ſurpriſe and indignation, was honorably acquitted, and Admiral Matthews declared incapable of ſerving for the future in his Majeſty's navy. The King himſelf, who was perſonally brave, and a lover of the brave, is ſaid to have expreſſed, in warm terms, his diſapprobation of this deciſion. And, when an elaborate technical vindication of the ſentence of the court-martial was offered, he indignantly replied, "that he knew but little of naval phraſeology; but this, ſaid his Majeſty, I know, that Matthews did fight, and that Leſtock did not."

In July, Sir John Balchen, an officer of great merit, ſailed from Spithead with a ſtrong ſquadron, in queſt of a French fleet expected to depart about this time from the harbor of Breſt. In the Bay of Biſcay he encountered a violent ſtorm, by which the fleet was entirely ſcattered, and the Admiral's own ſhip, the Victory, a new and beautiful firſt-rate, with eleven hundred men on board, foundered at ſea, near the rocks of Alderney; and the whole crew, with all the officers and their commander, moſt unfortunately periſhed.

Another revolution about this period (November 1744) took place in the Britiſh cabinet. Lord Carteret,

teret, now become Earl of Granville, had inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the good graces of his Sovereign as to excite, in a very high degree, the apprehenſion and diſlike of the Duke of Newcaſtle and his brother, Mr. Pelham, who ſecretly intrigued with the popular leaders in Parliament, to effect the downfall of this ambitious and haughty Miniſter, whoſe power they envied, and whoſe talents they feared. The Earl, comprehending the nature and extent of the combination againſt him, and ſenſible of his own unpopularity, heightened by the ill ſucceſs of the war, avoided the conflict by a voluntary reſignation of his employments, in which he was followed by Mr. Sandys, created Lord Sandys, and various others. Mr. Pelham, who, on the death of Lord Wilmington, had ſucceeded to the direction of the Board of Treaſury, was now nominated Chancellor of the Exchequer, and may be conſidered from this period as firſt Miniſter. The Earl of Cheſterfield was appointed to the government of Ireland, the Duke of Bedford placed at the head of the Admiralty, the Lords Gower and Cobham reinſtated in their former poſts, and, after an interval of delay and reluctance on the part of the Court, Mr. Pitt conſtituted Paymaſter of the Forces, and ſworn a member of the Privy Council. Several of the Tories were admitted to offices in conſequence of this coalition of parties; and Sir John Hynde Cotton and Sir John Phelips, thoſe

moroſe and turbulent patriots, were—for a time of ſhort duration indeed, "a little month"—tranſformed into courtiers and placemen. The Parliament met in December (1744), and it ſoon appeared that the reſult of the late changes was by no means unfavorable to the views of the Court; for the ſame ſyſtem was purſued with leſs difficulty and interruption: And the patriots ſtill in oppoſition, wearied with long and uſeleſs exertion, ſeemed at length to acquieſce in meaſures which the nation at large, now rouſed into paſſionate reſentment againſt France, and admiration of the courage and fortitude of the Queen of Hungary, began to regard with partiality and approbation. And the unremitted efforts of thirty years, efforts which had produced ſuch ſignal diſplays of knowlege, virtue, and eloquence, inglorioufly terminated in the ancient maxim—"Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur." As the laſt ſtruggle of expiring patriotiſm, however, the Houſe was moved, January 1745, that an act made in the fourth year of Edward III. entitled—"A Parliament ſhall be holden once every year," and alſo that an act made in the thirty-ſixth year of the reign of King Edward III. entitled—"A Parliament ſhall be holden once every year," ſhall be read; and the acts being read accordingly, Mr. Carew * aroſe, and declared his determination to

* This member, in a ſubſequent Seſſion of the preſent Parliament, moved an addreſs to the King, that he would be pleaſed to

bring to a DECISIVE TEST the ſincerity of thoſe pro-
ſſions which the Miniſters of the Crown recently
pointed to their offices had, for ſo many ſucceſ-
e years, accuſtomed themſelves to repeat within
e walls of that Houſe; and, from the fate of the
eſtion he was about to propoſe, a judgment might
formed whether the preſent Miniſters themſelves

order a monument to be erected in Weſtminſter Abbey to
memory of the gallant Captain Cornewall, who loſt his life
he engagement off Toulon; which being unanimouſly car-
, Velters Cornewall, brother to the deceaſed, roſe "to expreſs
pride and ſatisfaction he felt on this occaſion; more particu-
y as the motion originated with one of the moſt able,
ight, and diſintereſted patriots who had ever ſat in that
uſe." We may, therefore, fairly preſume, that the ſpeech
Mr. Carew does not contain words of empty ſound, intended
the mere purpoſe of embarraſſing the adminiſtration, but
it exhibits the real ſentiments of his underſtanding, and the
nine feelings of his heart. And it may be remarked, that
value and utility of exertions of this nature, are not be eſti-
d by the advantage they *immediately* produce. Mr. Carew
Mr. Sydenham yet ſpeak in hiſtory; nor will it ultimately
ound that ſuch men ſpeak in vain. In our own times, the
ons of Mr. Fox in ſupport of his ſeveral motions for the
l of the teſt and penal ſtatutes, were negatived by great
rities; but are theſe generous efforts in the cauſe of truth
iberty therefore loſt? No—doubtleſs they will produce their
: at the deſtined period on minds more ſuſceptible of im-
:ment, and leſs under the dominion of prejudice——

"When Stateſmen, Heroes, Kings, in duſt repoſe,
Whoſe ſons ſhall bluſh their fathers were his foes."

merited

merited thoſe ſevere appellations which they had ſo laviſhly beſtowed upon their predeceſſors. It was not enough, he ſaid, for the ſatisfaction of the impartial and intelligent public, that the new Miniſters ſhould give a ſimple aſſent to the motion he had in contemplation; for, if they had coaleſced with perſons whoſe influence was, upon trial, found ſufficiently powerful to defeat all efforts of political reform, it was incumbent upon them immediately to relinquiſh thoſe offices which they had ſo precipitately accepted, without any ſtipulations in favor of the public; and unreſervedly to declare againſt thoſe with whom they had ſo raſhly united. Amongſt the topics moſt frequently inſiſted upon by the preſent Miniſters, when in oppoſition to the Court, was the neceſſity of counteracting the baleful effects of miniſterial corruption, which they then ſeemed to think, and he hoped they ſtill thought, could by no means ſo effectually be done as by a reſtoration of the ancient conſtitution of Parliament, agreeably to which, the Houſe would perceive, by the acts now read, that Parliaments were to be holden once every year. And as long prorogations and adjournments were not then introduced or thought of, the meaning of this famous law muſt be, that a Parliament ſhould be every year choſen as well as held. And this is a conſtitution not only ſanctioned by ancient practiſe, but by the unalterable dictates of reaſon. In order that the repre-

repreſentatives of a great nation may be perfectly acquainted with the ſtate of its wiſhes, wants, and grievances, it is neceſſary that there ſhould be an intimate and habitual communication between them and their conſtituents. But, when Gentlemen are choſen for a term of years, they too frequently, on their election, appear at once to relinquiſh the character and feelings of delegates; they fix their abode in the metropolis, and viſit their conſtituents only when it becomes neceſſary to ſolicit their votes at the eve of a new election. Nay, ſuch was the degraded and corrupt ſtate into which the national repreſentation had fallen ſince the eſtabliſhment of Septennial Parliaments, that there were Gentlemen in that Houſe who never ſaw the borough which ſent them thither; who, perhaps, would be at a loſs even to recollect its name; and who were obliged to have recourſe to the Court Calendar to inform them of whom they were the repreſentatives. It was the peculiar and proper province of the Houſe of Commons, he ſaid, to convey to the Sovereign the ſentiments of the nation, both with reſpect to the meaſures he adopts, and the Miniſters he employs. But could this duty be juſtly or faithfully executed, when there is no proper intercourſe eſtabliſhed between thoſe who repreſent and thoſe who are repreſented? The intereſts of the Prince and the People cannot really and truly differ; he can only be great in their greatneſs, and proſperous in

their proſperity. But the general intereſt of the People, and the perſonal intereſt of the Miniſters, may very eſſentially differ; they may have no other ends in view than to impoveriſh and enſlave the people, in order to enrich and aggrandize themſelves: And, during a long term of delegation, how eaſy will it ever be for artful and deſigning men to miſrepreſent the ſentiments of the People to the Sovereign, and to pervert, by ſiniſter and corrupt practiſes, the integrity of thoſe perſons whoſe duty it is, and who are expreſsly appointed, to guard the liberties, and protect the rights of the community? Properly ſpeaking, Mr. Carew ſaid, the Houſe of Commons were no more than the attornies of the People: And is it reaſonable that any man ſhould be entruſted with a power of attorney irrevocable for a long term of years? Shall a whole People do that which would be the height of fooliſhneſs in every individual? Who can depend upon the continuance of any man's integrity? But the Septennial Bill was paſſed for the purpoſe of compelling the People to give an irrevocable power of attorney for that term. The practiſe of long Parliaments was firſt introduced in the reign of Richard II. when the intereſts of the country were ſacrificed by wicked Miniſters, to gratify the violent paſſions of the Monarch. But what was the reſult? The diſcontents and murmurs of the People, ſo carefully concealed from the knowlege of the King, at laſt produced an univerſal

ſal convulſion, which terminated in his ruin, and in the advancement of the Duke of Lancaſter to the throne, without any other title than that of having reſcued the People from ſlavery. This was the fate of the Prince who firſt introduced long Parliaments; but ſo long as a corrupt majority may be more eaſily obtained in a long than a ſhort Parliament, ſo long will it be the intereſt of Miniſters to oppoſe any limitation of the duration of Parliaments, though the intereſts both of the Monarch and the People ever ſo manifeſtly require it. If Septennial Parliaments be continued in this country, the Miniſter's letters of recommendation may, in time, be as implicitly obeyed in our counties, cities, and boroughs, as the King's *congé d'elire* is now in the chapters of our epiſcopal cathedrals. But will any one aſſert, that we ſhould then have the ſlighteſt pretence to the character of a free nation? No—we ſhould be ſlaves; God knows to whom—not, it may be hoped, to a Miniſter from HANOVER; though it is hard to ſay what a corrupt Parliament may not attempt, or to what a corrupt nation may not ſubmit. To prevent, however, as far as my exertions can contribute to the prevention of ſuch a cataſtrophe, I ſhall conclude with moving for leave to bring in a bill to enforce the calling of a new Parliament every year after the expiration of this preſent Parliament."

This motion was very ably ſeconded by Mr. Sydenham, in an intereſting ſpeech, of which the conciſe epitome only muſt ſuffice. This Gentleman began by obſerving, "that he muſt take it for granted that every member of that Houſe muſt be conſcious of the neceſſity of adopting meaſures of ſome kind for preventing, or, at leaſt, diminiſhing the extent and effect of miniſterial corruption. And, of all the meaſures that could be deviſed, none would be found ſo effectual as the reſtoration of annual Parliaments. To the fatal introduction of long Parliaments, and their concomitant evils, he aſcribed, in a great meaſure, that remarkable change in the manners and morals of the people at large, which had of late years taken place in this country. Formerly, the higher claſſes among us were diſtinguiſhed for generoſity and hoſpitality, and thoſe of inferior rank for honeſty, frugality, and induſtry. But theſe virtues are in danger of being utterly extinguiſhed by the prevalence of political corruption. No ſooner did Miniſters begin to ſolicit the votes, inſtead of convincing the underſtandings of the Members of Parliament—no ſooner were rewards laviſhed on thoſe who complied with thoſe ſolicitations, than the public order was diſturbed by violent competitions at elections. Voters began to claim a merit with thoſe to whom they gave their vote: The regular channel through which honors and preferments flowed was perverted,

verted, and the intereſt of the country was ſacrificed for the ſake of promoting thoſe who had the chief intereſts in elections. Even in our army and navy, of late years, this has appeared to be the beſt qualification for entitling a man to preferment. We muſt, therefore, demoliſh from the foundation this fabric of corruption; we muſt render it impoſſible for a Miniſter to expect to gain a majority in Parliament, or at elections, either by bribery, or by a partial diſtribution of places and preferments. I ſay, we muſt do this, if we intend to reſtore that ſpirit by which our anceſtors preſerved their liberties, and gained ſo much glory to their country. And, for this purpoſe, nothing can be ſo effectual as the reſtoration of annual Parliaments. Then may we hope to ſee that ſimplicity, generoſity, and hoſpitality of manners revived, which is now no more. For I hope it will not be called generoſity to give a voter, by expreſs bargain, five or ten guineas for his vote; or hoſpitality, to make a county or a borough drunk once in ſeven years, by way of preparation for an enſuing election. When a Gentleman perceives that the favor of his countrymen muſt be purchaſed, not won, he contracts his domeſtic to provide for his election expenſes; and, if he ſucceeds, he retires with his family to London, certain of his ſeat for ſeven years, and reſolving ſo to regulate his conduct in Parliament as may ſecure his future indem-

nification. This change of a country life into a town life has been attended with unſpeakable inconveniencies. A man of fortune who reſides in London may, in operas, routes, aſſemblies, French wines, and Italian muſicians, expend as much yearly as may ſuffice to maintain his rank in the moſt hoſpitable ſtyle of ancient liberality at his ſeat in the country. But will it be pretended, that the money ſo expended is of equal advantage to the community? that the ſame charity is extended to the indigent, the ſame employment to the induſtrious? Annual Parliaments would undoubtedly produce a mighty alteration of national manners in this reſpect. They would make conſtant reſidence and a conſtant inter-communication of kind offices neceſſary; they would preſerve the honeſty of our people, by removing the means of temptation; for no candidate would then be at the expenſe of corrupting, eſpecially as he could not expect to be repaid, by being himſelf corrupted by the Miniſter after he is choſen. Annual Parliaments will demoliſh the market of corruption. Miniſters will not corrupt when corruption can be of no avail; and, though conteſts may occaſionally take place, the magnitude of the object will not be ſuch as to occaſion either venality or violence. If, therefore, we cheriſh a laudable ambition to reſtore the practiſe of thoſe virtues for which our anceſtors were ſo conſpicuous, and by which they handed down to

us

us riches, renown, and liberty, we must reſtore the conſtitution of having Parliaments not only annually held, but annually choſen. It was a regulation *reſtored* and eſtabliſhed by one of the greateſt and wiſeſt Princes that ever ſwayed the ſceptre of this kingdom. The bill paſſed in the fourth year of the reign of this Monarch (Edward III.) was indeed evaded by the *ingenuity* of the lawyers. The words of the act were theſe—"A Parliament ſhall be holden once a-year, and oftener if need be." The lawyers maintained that the words "if need be" related to the firſt part of the law as well as the ſecond; *i. e.* that a Parliament ſhall be held once a-year if need be, or oftener if need be; a conſtruction which rendered the act itſelf wholly nugatory. In the thirty-ſixth year of the reign of the ſame Monarch, therefore, a new law was paſſed, by which it was enacted, without any reſerve or limitation, "that a Parliament ſhall be holden every year." This ſet the invention of the lawyers again at work, in order to find a new evaſion; and, in the next reign, the practiſe of prorogation was introduced. Every ſeſſion of Parliament was declared to be a Parliament, and the liberties of the nation were ſacrificed by a Parliament corruptly choſen and illegally continued. Should this now be attempted, it would be found very difficult, if not impoſſible, to reſcue them by force of arms, as was done in the reign of Richard II.; for the crown

has now a regular diſciplined army to ſupport its encroachments, and the People have neither arms nor diſcipline to oppoſe to ſuch a King and ſuch a Parliament. This conſideration alone would make me ſanguine in the ſupport of the meaſure now propoſed; and for this reaſon, among many others, I conclude with ſeconding the motion." The ſpeeches of theſe able and virtuous ſenators have been thus diſtinctly recited, becauſe they diſcover juſt and noble ſentiments of government, and diſcloſe a glorious proſpect of political reformation, which it is left to a happier and more enlightened age to realize*. The motion was feebly oppoſed in a diffuſive and labored ſpeech by Sir William Yonge, Secretary at War, by arguments which, if they proved any thing, would prove that Parliaments ought to be perpetual. But the principal Miniſters of the Crown obſerved a profound ſilence, not being able to endure the *teſt* of this *experimentum crucis*. It is, however, extremely remarkable, that, on the diviſion, the queſtion was negatived by a majority of thirty-two voices only, in a houſe of two hundred and ſixty-three members. No attempt at parliamentary reform, in any ſhape,

* In the writings of SWIFT, a man naturally of a ſound and excellent judgment, though unhappily too much under the dominion of violent and malignant paſſions, is ſomewhere to be found this remarkable acknowlegement: "I adore the wiſdom of that Gothic conſtitution which made Parliaments annual."

after

after this, was made for thirteen years, when a motion for ſhortening the duration of Parliaments was negatived almoſt without the formality of a debate. Very recently, indeed, the queſtion has been revived with great luſtre and advantage under the auſpices of men of the higheſt talents, and bids fair to excite the ſerious and continued attention of the public, eſpecially as it is at laſt combined, as it ever ought to have been, with the kindred queſtion of an equalization of the repreſentation *. So long as this grand reform of Parliament itſelf remains unaccompliſhed, no eſſential reform in other reſpects is to be expected.

Previous to the departure of the Earl of Cheſterfield for the government of Ireland, he was inveſted with the character of Ambaſſador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the States General, in order to prevail upon their High Mightineſſes to take a more active and deciſive part in that war, which it could not fail to be remarked that his Lordſhip had repeatedly inveighed againſt in Parliament as romantic, abſurd, and contrary to the intereſts of

* It will eaſily be ſuppoſed, that an alluſion is here intended to the Aſſociation lately inſtituted in the metropolis, for obtaining a reform in Parliament; which, excluſive of the avowed approbation of the great rival-ſtateſmen, Mr. PITT and Mr. FOX, reſpecting its object, boaſts the diſtinguiſhed names of GREY, FRANCIS, LAMBTON, WHITBREAD, ERSKINE, SMITH, and many others, which would reflect honor on any cauſe; and this is certainly a cauſe which would reflect honor upon any names.

both

both countries. Nevertheleſs, as the nation had determined upon war, his Lordſhip might deem it no violation of moral or political obligation to exert his utmoſt efforts, as a public man, to render it ſucceſsful; and it is certain, that he never ceaſed to uſe his influence in the cabinet to accompliſh the reſtoration of peace; and, in conſequence of his diſappointment and diſſatisfaction in not being able to attain that favorite object of his wiſhes, he reſigned the Seals of Secretary of State, which were conſigned to him after his return from Ireland. "Every thing, ſays the Earl, ſpeaking confidentially of the ſtate of affairs at this period, which does not tend to a peace is abſurd, and will, in the end, prove fatal." And it is but impartial juſtice to declare, that no man entertained more juſt or comprehenſive ideas reſpecting the national intereſt and happineſs than this Nobleman, and that few, if any, of his cotemporaries, can be named, who purſued them more reſolutely and ſteadily. Inceſſantly urged and incited by the whole power and influence of the Orange faction, the States at length acceded to the ſubſtance of the Ambaſſador's propoſals, and engaged to maintain an army of fifty thouſand men in the field, excluſive of garriſons. But torn by inteſtine diviſion and animoſity, the terms of the treaty were, after the concluſion of it, little attended to; and, though the proportion of expenſe to be borne by Holland was mitigated

from two-fifths to one-third, the danger to which the republic was expoſed was neither ſufficiently urgent, nor obvious, to excite a ſpirit of national ardor or unanimity *.

In the ſpeech made by the Ambaſſador in the aſſembly of the States, at his audience of leave, are to be found the following animated expreſſions: "The love of liberty, which firſt laid the foundation of this republic, and has ſince ſo often ſignalized her, this ſo noble and generous love ſtill unites your ſtrength and your counſels to thoſe of the King my maſter. Actuated by the ſame ſpirit, and purſuing the ſame end, the ſole object of your endeavors is to reſtore and ſecure the public liberty and tranquillity. What deſign can be more laudable? What work more worthy of a juſt and magnanimous zeal? Purſue, High and Mighty Lords, that deſign with your wonted ſteadineſs and wiſdom: Continue thoſe efforts without ſuffering yourſelves to be diſcouraged, and may Heaven crown your undertakings with the ſucceſs they ſo well deſerve." Excluſive, however, of the influence of French

* When Metrodorus was ſent by Mithridates to ſolicit the aid of the King of Armenia againſt the Romans, Tigranes ſaid, "What would you, Metrodorus, adviſe me to do in this caſe?" To which Metrodorus replied, "As an Ambaſſador I ſhould exhort you to it; but, as your Counſellor, I ſhould adviſe you againſt it." Had Lord Cheſterfield been aſked the ſame queſtion, doubtleſs he muſt, if equally ingenuous, have returned a ſimilar anſwer.

political

political intrigue, the majority of conſiderate perſons in the commonwealth could not but regard the neutrality offered by France as infinitely more eligible than the war urged by England; nor could it be reaſonably doubted, if the reſtoration of the peace of Europe were the real object in view, that Holland, who could propoſe to herſelf no proſpect or poſſibility of advantage by the continuance of hoſtilities, might act with much greater effect and dignity as a mediator than as a party.

On the return of the Earl of Cheſterfield from this embaſſy, he repaired to his government; and, during his continuance in that high office, he executed the duties of it with a vigilance, attention, and fidelity, which gave the moſt perfect ſatisfaction to the Iriſh nation; and have deſervedly endeared his memory to that generous and grateful people. The violent meaſures which were propoſed to him at the breaking out of the rebellion, reſpecting the Roman Catholics, he rejected with indignation. On the contrary, he treated them with a mildneſs and moderation which engaged their affection and confidence. A profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom; and it was obſerved, that the paſtoral letters of the Iriſh prieſts, their public diſcourſes, and more private admonitions, were equally and invariably directed for the ſervice of the government. In his Excellency's ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of the

the ſeſſion, October 1745, after expreſſing his ardent wiſhes to co-operate with Parliament in whatever might tend to eſtabliſh or promote the true intereſt of the kingdom, he tells them, "that their own reflections will beſt ſuggeſt to them the advantages they have enjoyed under the juſt and legal authority of the preſent race of Princes; and their own hiſtory will beſt paint the miſeries and calamities of a people ſcourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawleſs power; that theſe conſiderations muſt neceſſarily excite their higheſt indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to diſturb his Majeſty's government by a pretender to his crown—one nurſed up in civil and religious error, formed to perſecution and oppreſſion in the ſeat of ſuperſtition and tyranny; whoſe groundleſs claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and conſtitutions of theſe kingdoms; whoſe only hopes of ſupport are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general, and whoſe ſucceſs would conſequently deſtroy our liberty, our property, and our religion." So well aſſured was this Nobleman of the peaceable and loyal diſpoſition of the nation at large, that he treated with pleaſant ridicule the information brought to him by a Gentleman high in office, who, with marks of evident conſternation, told his Excellency that the people in Connaught were certainly *riſing*. The Earl, with perfect

calmneſs

calmneſs and compoſure, replied, "It is now nine o'clock, and time for them to riſe; I therefore incline to believe your intelligence true."

This year, March 1745, died Robert, Earl of Orford, in circumſtances by no means affluent, although he had for twenty years the revenues of Great Britain at his diſpoſal. His death was occaſioned by the violent operation of a medicine which he took as a ſolvent for the ſtone; and he declared that he died a victim to the neglect of his own maxim—not to diſturb that which is at reſt.

The naval operations of this ſummer were ſpirited and ſucceſsful. A great number of rich prizes were captured from the enemy both in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. But the atchievement by which it was chiefly diſtinguiſhed was the conqueſt of the iſland of Cape Breton, in North America. This enterprize originated with the inhabitants of the province of New England; and the plan propoſed by them being approved by the government, Admiral Warren, now commanding the Britiſh fleet in thoſe ſeas, was commanded to co-operate with them. Six thouſand colonial troops were embarked from Boſton, which, with eight hundred marines from on board the fleet, conſtituted the whole of the land force. But with ſuch courage and vigor did theſe raw and undiſciplined troops, under the conduct of the Britiſh engineers, carry on their approaches, and with ſuch ſkill and judgment

judgment were their operations ſeconded by the Admiral, that, in about eight weeks after the commencement of the ſiege, the fortreſs and city of Louiſburg, and the whole iſland of Cape Breton, ſurrendered to the arms of his Britannic Majeſty. The Americans, who were freed by this conqueſt from a dangerous neighbour, acquired great and deſerved applauſe on the occaſion. The riſing importance of the Colonies became the ſubject of public attention and acknowlegement; and, by a generous exceſs of partiality, the magnitude of their ſervices, and the beneficial conſequences of this new conqueſt, were extolled and appreciated ſomewhat, perhaps, beyond their real and intrinſic value.

At the meeting of Parliament, January 1746, the King declared his regret at being obliged to have recourſe to his people for farther aids; and, at the ſame time, his confidence in their zeal and unanimity in ſupport of the public credit and ſafety. A new convulſion in the Miniſtry, however, retarded the progreſs of the ſupplies. A recent effort to introduce once more the Earl of Granville into the adminiſtration, had been made by the Sovereign, over whom that Nobleman had acquired a ſurpriſing aſcendency: But the Duke of Newcaſtle, and all who adhered to the widely-extended connection of the Pelhams, immediately on being acquainted with the King's determination,

delivered

delivered in their reſignations. Lord Granville was, notwithſtanding, actually appointed to the office of principal Secretary of State; but, relying on the greatneſs of his talents, he had ever diſdained to court the ſupport and aſſiſtance of friends; and, after a very ſhort trial, he was compelled reluctantly once more to render back the Seals. The Pelhams again reſumed their ſtations; and Lord Granville—relinquiſhing for ever the conteſt for ſuperiority—was, after an interval of political obſcurity, made Preſident of the Council, which ſtation he occupied many years, rather dignifying the office than dignified by it *. The ſupplies were now granted by the Commons with more than ordinary profuſion. About one hundred and twenty thouſand men, land forces, ſeamen, and marines, were provided for by Parliament. The ſum of three hundred thouſand pounds was voted to the King of Sardinia; four hundred thouſand pounds

* February 10, 1746, the Duke of Newcaſtle and Lord Harrington reſigned the Seals, and the Earl of Granville was appointed principal Secretary. The next day, Mr. Pelham reſigned the Treaſury, the Earl of Pembroke his gold key, and Mr. Legge and Mr. George Grenville their ſeats at the Board of Admiralty. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, firſt Lord of the Admiralty, the Earl of Cheſterfield, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and almoſt all the other great Officers of State, were expected to follow, when on Friday, February 14, the Earl of Granville returned the Seals into his Majeſty's hands, which were immediately re-delivered to the Duke of Newcaſtle.

to

to the Queen of Hungary, although that Princeſs had now fully ſurmounted her political embarraſſments. Subſidies alſo were granted with an unſparing hand to the Dutch, the Heſſians, the Saxons, the Hanoverians, the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and the whole was crowned with a vote of credit and confidence for the ſum of five hundred thouſand pounds to his Majeſty *. Notwithſtanding this unheard-of prodigality of expen-

* It was boldly and ſhrewdly remarked by a political writer of theſe times, that, according to the hiſtorian Matthew Paris, when King Henry III. demanded money of his Parliament to defray the expenſe of a foreign expedition, which concerned not the intereſt of England, the Parliament told him flatly, that this was a moſt audacious requiſition: "Talia effrons *impudenter* poſtularet.—Contradixerunt Regi in faciem, nolentes amplius pecunia ſua ſpoliari." And upon his remonſtrating, that his royal faith was pledged, and pleading the abſolute neceſſity in which he ſtood of a ſupply, they expreſſed their aſtoniſhment that the immenſe ſums of money already granted could be ſo ſoon diſſipated: "Admiramur in quam abyſſum ſubmerſæ ſunt innumerabiles pecuniæ, quas, Domine Rex, immunxiſti, quæ nunquam Regno vel modicum contulerunt incrementum." —M. Paris, p. 561, 26 Henry III.

It is ſaid that Mr. Mitchel, the Engliſh Reſident at Berlin, during the ſecond Sileſian war, in communicating to the King of Pruſſia the intelligence of ſome advantage obtained over the enemy, made uſe of the following expreſſion—"By the help of GOD we have gained a victory over the French." "What, ſaid the King, is GOD one of your allies?" "Yes certainly, Sire, replied the Ambaſſador, and the only one who demands no ſubſidies of us."

diture, no ſenſible effect was produced in the general ſyſtem of affairs. An unſucceſsful attempt was made in the courſe of this year, by Admiral Leſtock and General St. Clair, on Port L'Orient, an opulent maritime town on the ſouthern coaſt of Bretagne, and the grand depoſitary of the veſſels and ſtores belonging to the French Eaſt India Company. The fleet, with ſix battalions of regular forces on board, arrived, on the twentieth of September, in Quimperly Bay, ten miles diſtant from the city, which was immediately ſummoned to ſurrender. In the firſt emotions of ſurpriſe and conſternation, a capitulation was agreed to, on condition that the magazines of the Company, upon the payment of forty thouſand pounds by way of ranſom, ſhould remain untouched, and the inhabitants be protected from pillage. Theſe terms the Britiſh Commanders, inſtigated by the predominating avidity of plunder, haughtily and raſhly rejected; and the inhabitants, driven to extremity, prepared to defend themſelves with reſolution. The invaders were utterly deſtitute of the artillery and implements neceſſary for a ſiege. A ſingle battery, raiſed with difficulty and mounted only with a few field-pieces, played upon the fortifications without any effect. At length the troops ſtationed in the environs, with the militia of the province, collecting in great force, the General was compelled to abandon his enterprize, embarking

his troops September 29, and, after ſome uſeleſs bravadoes on the French coaſt, the whole armament returned to Portſmouth. The French accounts aſſert, that the place, if attacked immediately on the landing of the troops, might have been eaſily taken by ſcalade; but the operations of the Engliſh General indicated as little of vigor as of judgment; and the Admiral did nothing to retrieve the reputation which, notwithſtanding the acquittal of the court-martial, he had, by his conduct at Toulon, loſt in the eſtimation of the public. In the month of September, the important ſettlement of Madraſs, on the coaſt of Coromandel, ſurrendered to the French arms in India; which diſaſter the Engliſh, in the courſe of the next year, attempted in vain to avenge by the unſucceſsful ſiege of Pondicherry.

In November 1746, the Parliament was again convened, and the ſupplies again voted with the ſame laviſh profuſion—four hundred and thirty thouſand pounds to the Queen of Hungary; three hundred thouſand pounds to the King of Sardinia; five hundred and ſeventy thouſand pounds for the maintenance of the Hanoverian and Heſſian auxiliaries; ſubſidies to the Electors of Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, and Bavaria; five hundred thouſand pounds as a vote of credit; and it was remarked, that the entire aggregate of the ſupplies exceeded by two millions and a half the greateſt annual ſum

raiſed during the reign of Queen Anne, when Great Britain filled the world with the renown of her victories, though her riches were now exhauſted to purchaſe only diſgrace and misfortune. It muſt be acknowleged indeed, that, at this period, the King exhibited a laudable proof of his deſire to diminiſh the public expenſe, by ordering the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be diſbanded, and reducing three regiments of horſe to the quality of dragoons. But theſe reductions were, at the ſame time, invidious and ineffectual, and the dignity of the nation ſeemed even in ſome ſort affected by them. That the Monarch was well ſatisfied with the rectitude of his own policy, and even willing to make conſiderable perſonal ſacrifices, in order to fix that ideal balance of power which he deemed ſo neceſſary to the happineſs and tranquillity of Europe, it would ſeem ungenerous to doubt. Happy! had the wiſdom of his meaſures borne any proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

An Act of Parliament of a very important nature paſſed this Seſſion, for the abolition of the heretable juriſdictions in Scotland—that diſtinguiſhing feature of the feudal ſyſtem; ſince which period the peculiarities which ſeemed to ſtamp upon the Highland clans the caſt and character of a ſeparate nation have been gradually ſoftening, and, at this time,

time, ſeem rapidly haſtening to their final and utter extinction.

This year died Philip V. King of Spain, to whom ſucceeded, without any viſible or immediate effect upon the general political ſyſtem, Don Ferdinand, Prince of Aſturias.

In April 1747, a ſquadron ſailed from Breſt Water, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere, bound for America, and had made little progreſs in their voyage when they were encountered by a ſuperior Engliſh fleet, under the Admirals Anſon and Warren. The enemy fought with courage, but were compelled to yield to ſuperior force, and, towards evening, ſix ſhips of the line ſtruck their colors, and a great part of their convoy, with ſeveral frigates, were alſo taken. For this ſervice Admiral Anſon was ennobled, and Admiral Warren created a Knight of the Bath. In the month of October, Admiral Hawke, with a force much ſuperior, fell in with a fleet of nine line of battle ſhips, ſeven of which, after an obſtinate engagement, were captured by the Engliſh. The nation failed not to remark, that, in both theſe inſtances, the Engliſh fleets bore down upon the enemy, regardleſs of the preſervation of the line of battle; while the brave Admiral Matthews ſtill continued in a ſtate of diſgraceful ſuſpenſion for the ſame contempt of the eſtabliſhed punctilios of diſcipline.

The Parliament having been diſſolved in June, a new Parliament was convened in November 1747, highly favorable to the intereſt of the preſent Miniſtry. The minds of all were viſibly animated by the late naval ſucceſſes; the ableſt men in Parliament were engaged in the different poſts and offices of government; the Miniſter, Mr. Pelham, had acquired much of the public confidence; and the popularity of the King himſelf had very ſenſibly increaſed ſince the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion. He declared, that the attachment of his people on that occaſion had impreſſed his heart with indelible ſenſations of gratitude, and that he felicitated himſelf upon an event, without which he had never known how much he was the object of their regard and affection. Oppoſition now ſeemed to languiſh, and, for the firſt time ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, England might be ſaid to be governed by a popular adminiſtration *. The King ſignified,

* About this time a very excellent performance, deſervedly honored with a large ſhare of the public approbation, appeared under the title of "Free and Candid Diſquiſitions" reſpecting the neceſſity of a reform in the national Church. The celebrated Warburton, in a letter to his friend Dr. Doddridge, a diſſenting teacher of great eminence, writes—"As to the 'Diſquiſitions,' I will only ſay, that the temper, candor, and charity, with which they are wrote, are very edifying and exemplary. I wiſh ſucceſs to them as much as you can do. But I can tell you, of certain ſcience, that not the leaſt alteration will be made in the eccle-

ſignified, in his ſpeech to the Parliament, that a congreſs would ſpeedily be opened at Aix-la-Chapelle,

eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem." Dr. Chandler, another non-conformiſt divine of diſtinguiſhed reputation and ability, making an occaſional viſit at this period to Dr. Gooch, Biſhop of Norwich, met with Dr. Sherlock, then Biſhop of Saliſbury. The diſcourſe happened to fall on the propriety and utility of a *comprehenſion*. Dr. Sherlock ſaid, "Our church, Mr. Chandler, conſiſts of three parts, doctrine, diſcipline, and ceremonies. As to ceremonies, they are in themſelves indifferent, and ought to be left ſo; and the diſcipline of our church is ****; but what have you to object to the doctrines of it?" Mr. Chandler replied, "Your Articles, my Lord, muſt be expreſſed in Scriptural words, and the Athanaſian Creed muſt be diſcarded." Both the Biſhops anſwered—they wiſhed they were rid of that Creed, and had no objection to altering the Articles into Scriptural words. The two Biſhops, at the concluſion of the viſit, requeſted Mr. Chandler to wait on the Archbiſhop, Dr. Herring, which he did, and met the Biſhop of Norwich. The Archbiſhop being informed by Dr. Gooch of the converſation that had taken place on the ſubject of a comprehenſion, replied, "A very good thing—he wiſhed it with all his heart; and the rather, becauſe this was a time which called upon all good men to unite againſt infidelity and immorality, which threatened univerſal ruin: And added, he was encouraged to hope, from the piety, learning, and moderation, of many diſſenters, that this was the proper time to make the attempt." But, ſaid Dr. Gooch, Mr. Chandler ſays the Articles muſt be altered into the words of Scripture. "And why not? rejoined the Archbiſhop, it is the impertinencies of men thruſting their own words into Articles, inſtead of the words of God, which have occaſioned moſt of the diviſions in the Chriſtian Church from the beginning to this day." The Archbiſhop added, that the Bench of Biſhops ſeemed to be of his

pelle, for concerting the means of a general pacification. As the event, however, was uncertain, the former ſupplies and ſubſidies were renewed, and a new demand made for an additional ſubſidy to the Empreſs of Ruſſia, whom England had, by this means, the honor to claſs with the Empreſs-Queen of Hungary, the Kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Sardinia, and a multitude of Germanic Sovereigns, in her imperial, royal, and princely band of mercenaries. But, previous to the termination of the Seſſion, in May 1748, the King informed the two Houſes that preliminaries of peace were actually ſigned, and that the baſis of the accommodation was a general reſtitution of conqueſts. If we take into conſideration the relative ſituation of the belligerent powers, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle muſt undoubtedly, upon the whole, be conſidered as very favorable and advantageous to the Allies. The King of France was now in actual poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole of the Auſtrian Netherlands, and had even penetrated into Dutch Brabant and Flanders. Except the fortune of the

mind, and that he ſhould be glad to ſee Mr. Chandler again, but was then OBLIGED TO GO TO COURT. The good Archbiſhop, it may be preſumed, according to the prediction of Dr. Warburton, met with little encouragement at COURT to perſevere in his benevolent deſign; for, during the remainder of this reign, we hear no more of eccleſiaſtical REFORM or COMPREHENSION.

war

war had, contrary to all reaſonable expectation, entirely changed, the Allies muſt ſoon have been driven beyond the Rhine, and the United States might have once more ſeen the *Oriflamme* of France diſplayed at the gates of Amſterdam. The hiſtory of Europe in modern times exhibits, perhaps, no inſtance of a diſparity of talents between oppoſing Commanders ſo great and manifeſt, as that which ſubſiſted between the Duke of Cumberland and the Mareſchal Saxe. Yet it is very remarkable, that the States-General ſeemed to think it unneceſſary to impoſe thoſe reſtraints upon his Royal Highneſs by which, in conſequence of the *tribunitian negative* veſted in the field deputies, the Duke of Marlborough had been formerly fettered. A vaſt army was aſſembled in the Netherlands at a ruinous expenſe to England, without the ſlighteſt neceſſity, as it was not pretended that the French had threatened the Dutch barrier—and which, when aſſembled, acted merely upon the defenſive—which attempted no ſiege—which relieved no fortreſs—and which gained no battle. And the nation had reaſon to recollect the coarſe, but ſagacious political adage of Hyde, Earl of Rocheſter, "that to attack France in Flanders was to take a bull by the horns." For the ſacrifice of all her conqueſts no other compenſation was required by France than the ceſſion of the Dutchy of Parma, with its appendages, to the Infant Don Philip, and of which terri-

territories that Prince was already in actual poſſeſſion. Thus, in the ſpace of little more than ten years, the Houſe of Auſtria was deprived of the Sicilies and Parma by Spain, of the rich and extenſive province of Sileſia by Pruſſia, and of Servia and Belgrade, the bulwark of her empire on the ſide of Hungary, by the Turks; yet, by the wiſe and excellent adminiſtration of the Empreſs-Queen, whoſe counſels were, from this period, chiefly directed by that great Stateſman who, to a very recent period, preſided at the helm of affairs in the Imperial Court*, Auſtria appeared, in a ſhort time, more potent and formidable than it had ever done under the imperious but feeble government of her father, the Emperor Charles VI. By this treaty England was compelled reluctantly to reſign her favorite conqueſt of Cape Breton, in order to obtain the reſtitution of Madraſs. With Spain England had little occaſion to negotiate. In the whole courſe of a war which had continued nine years, nothing had been loſt, and nothing gained, Porto Bello excepted, which had been immediately evacuated. The original cauſe of the war ſeemed, in the progreſs of it, to be entirely forgotten, and, at the concluſion of the peace, not a ſyllable was mentioned reſpecting the pretended *right of ſearch*, which had formerly occaſioned ſuch loud and in-

* The Count, afterwards created Prince de Kaunitz.

dignant

dignant clamors. As the ſame complaints have never been revived, it appears, however, that Spain has virtually, though ſilently, relinquiſhed her claims. The ſettlement of the boundaries of the French and Britiſh empires in America, a queſtion in the higheſt degree doubtful and diſputatious, was referred to the deciſion of commiſſaries; and France retained no mark of ſuperiority in this treaty, with relation to England, excepting the requiſition of hoſtages to reſide in France till the reciprocal reſtitution of conqueſts ſhould be actually made; and the Earls of Suſſex and Cathcart were nominated for that purpoſe. This afforded the Patriots a pretence to exclaim againſt the peace as diſgraceful to the nation. But the nation, who were with reaſon wearied with the expenſes and diſaſters of the war, were well ſatisfied with the terms of the peace, and it was celebrated with great and univerſal rejoicings. The oppoſition in Parliament, nevertheleſs, ſtill retained ſome degree of importance, from the countenance and patronage of the Prince of Wales, who, from recent cauſes, had become more than ever alienated from the Court. And, at this period, his Royal Highneſs diſtinguiſhed by peculiar marks of his favor and confidence, the famous Viſcount Bolingbroke, who having, many years ſince, received a full pardon from government, without however being reſtored to his ſeat in Parliament, now reſided at the ruſtic manſion

manſion of Dawley, in Middleſex; and was viſited in this beautiful and ſequeſtered retreat, to make uſe of the expreſſion of a cotemporary hiſtorian, "as a ſainted ſhrine by all the diſtinguiſhed votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition." Matured and mellowed by experience, reflection, and age, this all-accompliſhed Nobleman, "framed in the prodigality of nature," and no leſs conſpicuous in the lofty fanes of ſcience, than the roſy bowers of pleaſure, or the gorgeous palaces of ambition, ſhone forth in the evening of life with a mild and ſubdued, but rich and reſplendent luſtre. And, in his political writings, he exhibited to an admiring world that IDEA of a PATRIOT KING, which the heir of the Britiſh Monarchy was ſuppoſed ambitious to form himſelf upon, as a complete and perfect model *. The hopes of the nation

* It will be, perhaps, not unacceptable to ſelect a few extracts from this celebrated performance, in compoſing which, Lord Bolingbroke ſeems to have determined to lay aſide all prejudice and party attachment, and to pourtray the lineaments of Truth, as ſhe appeared to his imagination, in her own heavenly and radiant form; and which derives an high additional value from its proceeding from a writer who poſſeſſed an intimate practical knowlege of his ſubject, and who has, therefore, ſteered perfectly clear of thoſe viſionary ideas of government which have unhappily blended themſelves with the theories of many philoſophical ſtatiſts. "In all caſes of great concernment, the noble writer tells us, that the ſhorteſt and ſureſt method of arriving at real knowlege is to remount to firſt principles; for

tion were, however, fatally blaſted by the unfortunate and untimely death of the Prince, who, after a ſhort

for it is about them that almoſt all the juggling and legerdemaine employed by men, whoſe trade it is to deceive, are ſet to work. And he who does ſo on the ſubject of government, will diſcover ſoon that the notions concerning the divine inſtitution and right of Kings, as well as the abſolute power belonging to their office, have no foundation in fact or reaſon; but have riſen from an OLD ALLIANCE between eccleſiaſtical and civil policy. Reverence for government obliges us to reverence governors, who, for the ſake of it, are raiſed above the level of other men. But reverence for governors independently of government, any farther than reverence would be due to their virtues if they were private men, is prepoſterous, and repugnant to common ſenſe. As well might we ſay, that a ſhip is built, and loaded, and manned, for the ſake of any particular pilot, inſtead of acknowleging that the pilot is made for the ſake of the ſhip, her lading, and her crew, who are always the OWNERS in the *political veſſel*, as to ſay that Kingdoms were inſtituted for Kings, not Kings for Kingdoms. All this is as true of hereditary as of elective Monarchy; though the SCRIBBLERS for tyranny, under the name of Monarchy, would have us believe that there is ſomething more auguſt and more ſacred in the one than the other. They are ſacred alike, and this attribute is to be aſcribed, or not aſcribed to them, as they anſwer, or do not anſwer, the ends of their inſtitution.—Enough has been ſaid to eſtabliſh the firſt and true principles of monarchical, and indeed of every other kind of government; and I will ſay with confidence, that no principles but theſe, and ſuch as theſe, can be advanced, which deſerve to be treated ſeriouſly; though Mr. Locke *condeſcended* to examine thoſe of Filmer, more out of regard to the prejudices of the time than the importance of the work. The good of the People is the ultimate and true end of government; governors

a ſhort illneſs, expired, March 20, 1751, leaving the education of his numerous offspring to the care of

governors are therefore appointed for this end, and the civil conſtitution which appoints them and inveſts them with their power, is determined to do ſo, by that law of nature and reaſon which has determined the end of government, and which admits this *form* of government as the proper means of arriving at it. Now, the greateſt good of a People is their liberty; without liberty no happineſs can be enjoyed by ſociety. The obligation, therefore, to defend and maintain the freedom of ſuch conſtitutions, will appear moſt ſacred to a PATRIOT KING. The conſtitution will be conſidered by him as one law, conſiſting of two tables—or as one ſyſtem compoſed of different parts and powers, but all duly proportioned to one another, and conſpiring, by their harmony, to the perfection of the whole. He will make one, and but one, diſtinction between his rights and thoſe of his People,—he will look on his to be a truſt, and theirs a property; he will diſcern that he can have a right to no more than is entruſted to him by the conſtitution; and that the People alone, who had an original right to the whole by the law of nature, can have the ſole indefeaſible right to any part, and really have ſuch a right to that part, which they have reſerved to themſelves. Thus he will think, and on theſe principles he will act, whether he come to the throne by immediate or remote election. For in hereditary Monarchies, where *men* are not elected, *families* are; and therefore *ſome authors* would have it believed, that, when a family has been once admitted, and an hereditary right to the Crown recogniſed in it, that right cannot be forfeited. How much more agreable to truth and to common ſenſe would theſe authors have written, if they had maintained that every Prince who comes to a Crown in the courſe of ſucceſſion, were he the laſt of five hundred, comes to it under the ſame conditions under which the firſt took it, whether expreſſed or implied. I men-

tion

of a Princeſs, amiable, indeed, for her maternal and domeſtic virtues, but who had brought from the Court of Saxe-Gotha principles and maxims of government ill according with thoſe which form the baſis of the Engliſh conſtitution. Soon after the death of his Royal Highneſs, his eldeſt ſon, Prince George, was committed to the care of the Earl of Harcourt as governor, and the Biſhop of Norwich as preceptor—men whoſe principles and characters deſervedly ſtood high in the eſteem of the nation. But it was ſoon diſcovered that the Earl of Bute, who had been introduced into the Prince's houſehold as a Lord of the Bedchamber,

tion this the rather becauſe I have an imperfect *remembrance* that ſome SCRIBBLER was employed, or employed himſelf, to aſſert the *hereditary right of the preſent family*; a taſk ſo unneceſſary to any good purpoſe, that I believe a ſuſpicion aroſe of its having been deſigned for a bad one. A PATRIOT KING will never countenance ſuch impertinent fallacies, nor deign to lean on broken reeds."—Was this *recollection* in Lord Bolingbroke, or *prophetic anticipation?* or is it neceſſary to ſay, that whoever defends the abſurd and pernicious tenets here reprobated is a SCRIBBLER, however *ſublime and beautiful* his language? A Nobleman yet living, who was in habits of ſtrict intimacy with Lord Bolingbroke, relates of him, that he was accuſtomed to expreſs, in high and enthuſiaſtic language, his admiration of the genius and talents of ALCIBIADES, not unconſcious, perhaps, that to the character of this celebrated Athenian his own bore a ſtriking analogy. And Lord Orrery aſſures us, that the converſation of Lord Bolingbroke united the wiſdom of Socrates, the dignity and eaſe of Pliny, and the wit of Horace.

had

had acquired ſo high a degree of influence at the Court of Leiceſter Houſe, as to make the ſituation of thoſe who poſſeſſed reſponſible offices very uneaſy. It was confidently aſſerted, that books had been repeatedly found in the hands of the Prince of a moſt dangerous political tendency. On a remarkable motion made in the Houſe of Peers, March 1753, by the Duke of Bedford, for the production of certain papers and documents relative to this ſubject, Lord Harcourt declared that he found he had no authority over the Prince's education, nor could he be of any ſervice unleſs the ſub-governor, and others, were diſmiſſed, whom he had ſtrong reaſons to believe tainted with Jacobite principles. Impreſſed with this idea, his Lordſhip and his coadjutor, the Biſhop, reſigned their offices, and to them Lord Waldegrave and the Biſhop of Lincoln ſucceeded. But the baleful influence of the Earl of Bute was too plainly diſcerned to be ſtill all-prevalent, affording, notwithſtanding the private and perſonal virtues of the Prince, juſt and ſerious ground of national ſolicitude and apprehenſion *.

Next

* In the Diary of Lord Melcombe, which exhibits an amuſing picture of the interior of a Court, delineated by a vain, obſequious, temporiſing courtier, are contained many characteriſtic and intereſting anecdotes. With reſpect to this memorable reſignation, his Lordſhip informs us, that Lord Harcourt complained ſtrongly to the King of dangerous notions, and arbitrary principles, being inſtilled into the Prince; and that he could be

of

Next to the Miniſter himſelf, two of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages at this period in the Britiſh Parliament were Mr. Murray, Solicitor General, and Mr. Pitt, Paymaſter of the Forces—both, indeed, poſſeſſing an extent of genius and ſplendor of eloquence ſuperior to Mr. Pelham, who, founding his power on the firm and ſolid foundation of public eſteem and public virtue, ſuffered no mean or corroding political jealouſies to enter his breaſt. The firſt of theſe, promoted, in the progreſs of his fortunes, to the Chief Juſticeſhip of England, and the title of Earl of Mansfield, was educated in ſentiments by no means favorable to his political ad-

of no uſe unleſs Stone, Creſſet, and Scot, were diſmiſſed: That, as he named no particulars, the King had ſent the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Lord Chancellor to confer with his Lordſhip upon the ſubject; but Lord Harcourt declared, that the particulars were fit only to be communicated to the King, and that he would wait on his Majeſty with them: That he did ſo, and the ſatisfaction he required not being given, the King appearing to yield a ſlow and reluctant credit to theſe allegations, the Earl and Biſhop immediately reſigned their offices. It is a curious circumſtance, that, in a converſation which Lord Melcombe held with the Duke of Dorſet on the ſubject of theſe reſignations, *it was agreed*—" that there muſt be a *counter-ſtory* on the court ſide, or the reſigners would run away with the public opinion." It is ſuperfluous to ſay, that this *counter-ſtory* never appeared. The original appointment of Stone, who was the intimate friend of Murray, the Solicitor General, was extremely diſagreable to the late Prince of Wales, who was accuſtomed, as the Princeſs related to Lord Melcombe, when affairs went ill, paſſionately to exclaim—" How could better be expected when ſuch a Jacobite as Stone was truſted!"

vancement; but, from his firſt entrance into public life, he ſuffered no ſymptoms of his original attachments to appear, excepting a certain biaſs always diſcernible, throughout all the variations and viciſſitudes of his political career, in favor of prerogative. His perſon was graceful, the tones of his voice exquiſitely melodious, and his ſtyle of oratory clear, dignified, calm, and perſuaſive *. To this hiſtorical portrait that of Mr. Pitt may be exhibited as a juſt and ſtriking contraſt. This celebrated Stateſman was introduced early in life into the Houſe of Commons, where he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the animation of his eloquence and the ſuperiority of his talents. His reply to the political veteran Horace Walpole, who had on ſome occaſion affected to mention him with contempt, as an unpractiſed and youthful orator, is not yet forgotten: "Whether youth could be juſtly imputed to any man as a reproach, Mr. Pitt ſaid, he ſhould not determine; but he would affirm, that the wretch who, after having ſeen the conſequences of repeated errors, continues ſtill to blunder, and whoſe age has only added obſtinacy to ſtupidity, deſerves not that his grey hairs ſhould ſecure him from inſult; and much more is he to be abhorred who, as he

* The æra ſo feelingly anticipated by the Poet is at length arrived. This Nobleman's career of life and honor is cloſed—

And MURRAY, long enough his country's pride,
Is now no more than TULLY or than HYDE.

has

has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and who deliberately devotes the remnant of his life to the ruin of his country." As a public ſpeaker, he poſſeſſed ſuch commanding force and energy of language, as ſtruck his hearers with aſtoniſhment and admiration. The power and effect of his oratory have been compared to "the lightning which flaſhed from heaven, blaſting where it ſmote, and withering the nerves of oppoſition." His ambition was open and undiſguiſed; but he diſdained to ſeek the gratification of it by any mean or degrading compliance. On the contrary, he was pertinacious in his opinions, imperious in his deportment, fearleſs and reſolute in his conduct. All attention to pecuniary conſiderations he ſeemed to think beneath the dignity of his character, ever maintaining an inviolable integrity in the midſt of temptation *. And in that theatre of political corruption in

* Two ſignal proofs of the diſintereſted integrity of Mr. Pitt in the diſcharge of his office, are diſtinctly ſpecified. On his acceſſion to the poſt of Paymaſter, he refuſed the cuſtomary perquiſites of half per cent. on the ſubſidies voted by Parliament to the Queen of Hungary, the King of Sardinia, &c. amounting to an immenſe ſum. The King of Sardinia, ſtruck with admiration at this conduct, ordered his Ambaſſador to offer the ſame ſum as a royal preſent to Mr. Pitt; but this Mr. Pitt peremptorily, though reſpectfully, refuſed, ſaying, that he did no more than his duty in paying it entire. The other fact, equally to the honor of this great man, is, that he would never appropriate any of the balances of the public money in his

in which it was the ſhameleſs boaſt of the Miniſter, that *every man had his price*, the public virtue of Mr. Pitt was univerſally acknowleged to be "pure as the icicle pendent from Dian's temple."

In the foremoſt rank of Stateſmen at this period, likewiſe, muſt be claſſed the Secretary at War, Mr. Fox, afterwards advanced to the Peerage by the title of Lord Holland. His talents appear, indeed, leſs brilliant than ſolid. Long and intimately attached to the connection of the Pelhams, he had, on all occaſions, diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a moſt able advocate of the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration. In common with the other adherents of that powerful party, he eſpouſed with zeal the antient principles of whiggiſm eſtabliſhed at the Revolution—blended as they were with the courtly biaſs in favor of the new ſyſtem of policy introduced at the acceſſion of the preſent family. His underſtanding was vigorous, and his knowlege extenſive; and he commanded the attention of the Houſe not by the ſplendor of his eloquence, but the ſuperior weight and force of his obſervations. Though far from harboring the idea of a political competition with Mr. Pelham, whom he ſupported with the cordiality rather of friendſhip than of intereſt, he regarded himſelf, and was univerſally

hands to any purpoſes of private emolument, paying them invariably into the Bank of England, and ſatisfying himſelf with the common legal appointments annexed to his office.

regarded,

regarded, as ſecond only in political importance to the Miniſter; nor, in caſe of a vacancy in the higheſt department of government, did there appear any probability of a conteſt for the pre-eminence—Mr. Pitt at this period, not to mention his inferior ſtanding in office, boaſting little advantage over Mr. Fox in the eſtimation of the public, and poſſeſſing much leſs of the confidence of the Court.

The moſt conſiderable controverſy which took place in the Houſe of Commons, during the ſeſſion immediately ſucceeding the concluſion of the peace, was occaſioned by ſome important innovations in the annual mutiny bill, particularly the final clauſe, by which martial law was extended to all officers on half pay, and which, by extending in the ſame proportion the influence of the Crown, might in its conſequences, as the oppoſition affirmed, prove very dangerous to the Conſtitution. But Mr. Pitt defended the clauſe, which was ultimately carried by a conſiderable majority, as a neceſſary extenſion of military diſcipline—urging, in order to obviate the alarm of danger, "that the very exiſtence of Engliſh liberty muſt, and did, actually depend upon the moderation of the Sovereign, and the virtue of the army. To that virtue, ſaid he, we truſt even at this hour, ſmall as our army is—to that virtue we muſt have truſted in whatever manner this bill had been modelled; and without this virtue ſhould the Lords, the Com-

mons, and the People of England, entrench themſelves behind parchment up to the teeth, the ſword will find a paſſage to the vitals of the Conſtitution." Certainly a more forcible argument could not be found to demonſtrate the neceſſity of reducing that army, and of diminiſhing that influence, which the clauſe in queſtion was calculated to confirm and increaſe. At this period, a plan was formed and carried into execution, chiefly under the patronage and direction of the Earl of Halifax, firſt Lord of Trade and Plantations, for the eſtabliſhment of a colony on the peninſula of Acadie. By the treaty of Utrecht this peninſula, originally ſettled by the French, was ceded, with the entire province of Nova Scotia, to the Engliſh. But the ſmall town and fortreſs of Annapolis, ſituated in the midſt of the French ſettlers, excepted, no trace appeared of its being an Engliſh poſſeſſion. By the plan now adopted, it was determined to found a city on the oppoſite or eaſtern ſide of the peninſula, to which the name of Halifax was given, on a ſpot commodiouſly ſituated, and with the advantage of a ſecure and excellent harbor. This colony, though viewed by the French with jealous eyes, being primarily deſigned for a military ſtation, and ſubjected, by an unpardonable error in the original plan, to a military and deſpotic form of government, did not anſwer the high expectations excited by it: But of late years, in conſequence of many judi-

judicious regulations and unexpected changes, it has riſen rapidly in commercial and political importance.

From the firm eſtabliſhment of peace, the extenſion of commerce, and the accumulation of wealth, the public funds, all of which bore the ſame intereſt of four *per cent.* now roſe ſo much above par, as to make it practicable for the Miniſter to bring forward a grand meaſure of finance, which, however daring in appearance, was attended with no difficulty in the execution. This was no other than an improvement of the ſcheme formerly offered to Parliament by Sir John Bernard, to liquidate all the redeemable annuities, comprehending almoſt the whole of the public debts, by an immediate payment of the principal. This propoſal was, however, attended with an alternative which the Miniſter well knew it was the intereſt of the ſtock-holder to accept. An option was allowed by the act either to receive the entire amount of the debt at *par*, *i. e.* at a diſcount of more than thirty *per cent.* below the actual transfer price, or to conſent to a reduction of the intereſt from four to three and a half *per cent.* for ſeven years, and afterwards to remain at three *per cent.* This had all the effect and operation of a tax of twenty-five *per cent.* upon the public funds, and it was a blow moſt ſeverely felt by very many families in the middle claſſes of life, whoſe property was confided

to the faith of government. Yet no violation of the public faith could be pretended; for, in conformity to the original terms of the agreement, the perpetual annuities were at all times redeemable by the government at *par*. A very great proportion, therefore, of the public creditors aſſented, however reluctantly, to the terms of the Miniſter. The three great chartered Companies, nevertheleſs, and various individual proprietors of ſtock, to the amount of eight or ten millions, refuſed to ſubſcribe. But Mr. Pelham, encouraged by the general ſucceſs of his project, now aſſumed an higher tone; and he declared that, as they had ſuffered the time preſcribed by the act to elapſe, they ſhould no longer be admitted to take advantage of the terms originally offered. But, that their obſtinacy and ignorance might not be too rigorouſly puniſhed, he would now propoſe a ſecond ſubſcription, in which the reduction of the intereſt from three and a half to three *per cent.* ſhould take place at the end of five years. Upon reconſideration, the Bank, the Eaſt India Company, and South Sea Company, and the individual proprietors who had concurred with them, and were probably influenced by their authority to reject with diſdain the former propoſition, unanimouſly thought proper to accept of the favor and indulgence now offered; and the plan of the Miniſter was carried into complete execution, not only with reputation

but

but triumph. But it is remarkable, that no effort was at any time made by Mr. Pelham for the re-eſtabliſhment of the ſinking fund, as originally propoſed by Sir Robert Walpole, a meaſure of much greater efficacy, though of leſs *eclat*, than this boaſted ſcheme of reduction.

About this time, an Act of Parliament alſo paſſed for the encouragement of the Britiſh Fiſheries, by which a company was incorporated, in order to carry into effect the purpoſes of the act. But as the veſſels deſigned to rendezvous at the ſound of Braſſa were, according to this project, to be fitted out at the port of London, to mention no other of its numerous defects, it was clearly foreſeen, and peremptorily foretold, that the ſcheme would prove abortive. Various efforts have ſince been made, at different times, to revive the public attention to this national concern, but with little ſucceſs. And it yet remains for ſome future able and patriotic Miniſter to adopt a grand and comprehenſive plan, for the accompliſhment of this moſt important and laudable object. Had a tenth part of the immenſe ſums diſſipated and ſquandered in Italian and German ſubſidies been employed in erecting towns, forming canals, building veſſels, and procuring implements, in order to carry on the fiſheries to advantage upon the ſpot, the Highlands of Scotland might, at this day, have exhibited a ſmiling ſcene of induſtry and plenty, inſtead of preſenting to our

view the cheerleſs aſpect of poverty and wretchedneſs, or rather the hideous picture of ſolitude and deſolation.

Philip V. of Spain, whoſe partiality to France ſeemed to increaſe with increaſing years, being now deceaſed, and his ſon and ſucceſſor Ferdinand cheriſhing a ſincere deſire to maintain a perfect amity with Great Britain, a treaty or convention was this year concluded at Madrid, between Don Joſeph de Carvajal, the Spaniſh Miniſter, and Mr Keene, the Engliſh Envoy, by which the points referred to the deciſion of Commiſſaries, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were finally terminated, and the commercial privileges of the Engliſh nation fully reſtored. No mention, however, and much leſs any direct renunciation, was made of the right of ſearch claimed by the Spaniards, and which was the original cauſe of the war. And when this omiſſion was ſtrongly urged by the oppoſition in Parliament, as inconſiſtent with the poſitive declaration of the two Houſes at the commencement of the war, who concurred in an addreſs to the Throne, that no treaty of peace with Spain ſhould be admitted unleſs ſuch renunciation ſhould be firſt obtained as a preliminary, Mr. Pitt, who had been a ſtrenuous advocate for this addreſs, offered an apology for his conduct, as a Miniſter of the Crown concurring in the meaſures now the ſubject of cenſure, ſomewhat novel and ſingular. "He acknow-

acknowleged that he had contended ſtrongly for the addreſs alluded to, becauſe at that time, being young and ſanguine, he thought it right and reaſonable. But he was now ten years older, had conſidered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of *no ſearch* with reſpect to Britiſh veſſels ſailing near the American ſhore, would never be obtained unleſs Spain ſhould be brought ſo low as to acquieſce in any terms we, as victors, might propoſe." This was a virtual vindication of the conduct and principles of the late Miniſter, Sir Robert Walpole, in his negotiations with Spain, againſt which Mr. Pitt had ſo often and ſo eloquently declaimed; and ſuch an avowal could only be regarded as an involuntary ſpecies of homage paid to the memory of that ſagacious and able Stateſman.

In the courſe of the preſent ſummer, 1750, died Don Juan V. King of Portugal; a Prince not deſtitute of ability, but tainted with a wretched ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Don Joſeph, at whoſe acceſſion the Infanta Iſabella became heireſs of the crown. And, in order to preſerve the ſceptre of Portugal in the Houſe of Braganza, this Princeſs, by virtue of a Papal diſpenſation, was married to her uncle the Infant Don Pedro, brother to the King; the firſt iſſue of which nuptials, Joſeph Xavier, Prince of Brazil, while of an age yet immature, was, by a ſimi-

a ſimilar alliance—an alliance at which nature and cuſtom equally revolt—married to his aunt Donna Maria, ſiſter to Iſabella, the preſent Queen.

In conſequence of the death of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, a Bill was preſented by the Duke of Newcaſtle to the Houſe of Peers (May 1751), to provide for the adminiſtration of government, in caſe the crown ſhould deſcend to a minor: And the Princeſs Dowager of Wales was appointed Regent of Great Britain and Ireland, aſſiſted by a council compoſed of the great Officers of State, the Duke of Cumberland preſiding at the head. This was a hazardous and dangerous plan, which, had it been carried into effect, would have laid the foundation of a divided and diſtracted government. Happily, however, the King lived till his ſucceſſor attained to the age of majority, and the regency bill, which was juſtly and ſtrongly oppoſed in Parliament, ſunk unnoticed into ſilence and oblivion. Amongſt the moſt remarkable bills of the preſent Seſſion was that introduced by the Earl of Cheſterfield, for the reformation of the Calendar, notwithſtanding the previous and avowed diſapprobation of the Duke of Newcaſtle, who declared himſelf "averſe to diſturb that which was at reſt; adding, that he did not love new-fangled things." The bill, however, was received with general applauſe, and was ſupported in the Houſe of Peers by the Earl of Macclesfield, with a diſplay of profound and

and ſcientific knowlege which reflected upon that Nobleman the higheſt honor, as the ſucceſſor to the chair of NEWTON, and Preſident of the moſt learned ſociety in Europe. The Julian computation of time, either from ignorance or negligence, ſuppoſing a complete ſolar revolution to be effected in the preciſe period of three hundred and ſixty-five days and ſix hours, made no proviſion for the apparently trifling deficiency of eleven minutes, which however, in the lapſe of eighteen centuries, amounted to a difference of eleven days. A reformation of the Calendar had been accompliſhed in the ſixteenth century, under the auſpices of Pope Gregory XIII.; but the authority of the Roman Pontiff extending over the Catholic countries only, the ancient computation ſtill continued in uſe in England and the other northern kingdoms. But by the bill now introduced, it was decreed that the new year ſhould begin, in conformity to the Gregorian reform, on the firſt of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the ſecond and fourteenth of September 1752, ſhould be omitted, ſo that the day ſucceeding the ſecond, ſhould be denominated the fourteenth of that month—an alteration not leſs favorable to commercial than to aſtronomical accuracy and preciſion.

Frederic, King of Sweden, and Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, dying at this period, was ſucceeded, agreably

agreably to the convention formerly made with Ruſſia, by Adolphus Frederic, Duke of Holſtein Eutin, Biſhop of Lubec—married to the ſiſter of his Pruſſian Majeſty. This Prince, on his acceſſion to the throne, took a voluntary oath in full ſenate that he would never attempt to introduce a deſpotic authority, but would maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his ſubjects in all reſpects according to the laws and form of government eſtabliſhed in Sweden. This declaration was peculiarly acceptable to the Court of St. Peterſburg, which had entertained jealous apprehenſions that the intrigues of the French and Pruſſian factions, for changing the form of government, were countenanced and ſupported by the ſucceſſor—and had actually aſſembled an army on the frontiers of Finland, which menaced Sweden with invaſion; declaring, at the ſame time, her firm reſolution to maintain inviolate that conſtitution of which ſhe was the guarantee. By this complaiſant, or rather ſubmiſſive, conduct, the harmony between the two countries appeared firmly conſolidated. The political depreſſion of Sweden, which was the neceſſary conſequence of the radical defects of her government, was in the higheſt degree favorable to the ambitious deſigns of Ruſſia; and, in conformity to the ſame inſidious and intereſted policy, the Court of St. Peterſburg will ſuffer no improvement of the anarchic conſtitution of Poland. A violent miſunderſtanding

derſtanding between the two Courts of Peterſburg and Berlin was the reſult of their oppoſing politics relative to the affairs of Sweden—his Pruſſian Majeſty declaring his determination to defend that kingdom with his whole force, in caſe of an attack from Ruſſia; and the Ambaſſadors on each ſide were recalled. This miſunderſtanding, heightened by mutual criminations and reproaches into the moſt bitter animoſity, after an interval of ſome years, terminated in open rupture: And the King of Pruſſia was taught, by fatal experience, to repent the groſs and wanton provocations by which he had ventured to excite the reſentment of the Czarina. It is worthy of remark, that the ſubſidies received, during the courſe of his reign from England, by the late King of Sweden in the mere capacity of Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, on an accurate computation, amounted to the aſtoniſhing ſum of one million two hundred and forty-nine thouſand ſix hundred and ninety-nine pounds ſterling *. In the courſe of this year, 1751, alſo died Louiſa, Queen of Denmark, youngeſt daughter of his Britannic Majeſty, a Princeſs endowed with every

* Soon after the death of the King of Sweden, Prince Frederic of Heſſe Caſſel, who had, in 1740, eſpouſed the Princeſs Mary, third daughter of the King of England, thought fit to renounce his religion, and declare himſelf a Roman Catholic, to the great injury of the Proteſtant intereſt in the Empire, and the general regret of the Engliſh nation and the Proteſtants throughout Europe.

graceful

graceful and amiable accompliſhment, and deſervedly dear to the Daniſh Monarch and nation. Nearly at the ſame time, the United Provinces ſuſtained a public loſs by the death of his Serene Highneſs the Prince of Orange, who leaving only an infant ſon, the adminiſtration of the government devolved upon the Princeſs of Orange, as governante, during the minority, in which ſtation ſhe conducted affairs with much prudence and ability. When the Parliament met in November (1751), the King informed them that he had, in conjunction with the States General, whoſe intimate union and friendſhip with England had been in no degree impaired by the unfortunate death of the Stadtholder, concluded treaties with the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, in addition to thoſe ſubſiſting with the Electors of Mentz and Cologne; and another was ſoon afterwards happily adjuſted with the Elector Palatine; and the vaſt ſums which theſe Princes demanded as the purchaſe of their friendſhip were cheerfully and loyally voted at the requiſition of the Court. The immediate object of theſe alliances was to ſecure a majority of the voices of the Electoral College, in the view of an approaching election of a King of the Romans in the perſon of the Archduke Joſeph, eldeſt ſon of the Emperor: For this Prince having yet ſcarcely paſſed the years of infancy, it was reaſonably to be apprehended, that this favorite project might, in the execution,

execution, be attended with embarraſſment and difficulty. A vigorous, however, if not a formidable reſiſtance was made in the Houſe of Commons to the ratification of theſe treaties by Parliament. For ſome years paſt Lord Egmont had been regarded as the head of the anti-courtiers—a Nobleman whoſe knowlege and talents were conſiderably above mediocrity, but whoſe oppoſition was too palpably indiſcriminate and perſonal; and the voice of the minority in the Houſe of Commons was no longer the voice of the majority of the people. This was an occaſion, however, which furniſhed his Lordſhip with a wide ſcope for argument as well as invective. "He declared himſelf an enemy to all ſubſidy-treaties in time of peace. The views and circumſtances of Princes and States were perpetually changing, and their deciſions would ever be influenced by preſent intereſts, and not paſt obligations, of which, he ſaid, we had full proof during the laſt war in the conduct of the Danes and Heſſians, the former of whom deſerted us, and the latter had actually engaged againſt us. By entering into treaties of this nature, without the previous authority of Parliament, he acknowleged the Houſe was indeed reduced to a diſagreable dilemma—they muſt either expoſe their Sovereign to the contempt of foreign powers, or they muſt ſacrifice the intereſts of their conſtituents by impoſing unneceſſary burdens upon the country. But of

two evils he would chuſe the leaſt, by refuſing the ſubſidies, and endeavor to vindicate the honor of the Sovereign by puniſhing thoſe Miniſters who adviſed ſuch pernicious meaſures." Sir John Hynde Cotton forcibly remarked, that France was one of the guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, and conſequently of the liberties and conſtitution of the German Empire; and our thus granting ſubſidies to the Electors will furniſh her with a plauſible pretext for aſſerting that the liberties of the Empire are invaded by means of bribery and corruption; and may incite her to aſſume the character of the defender of the Germanic Conſtitution againſt ſuch ſcandalous attempts. With regard, therefore, to the election of a King of the Romans, he was of opinion that the German Princes ought to be left entirely to themſelves; and that the wiſeſt courſe England could take was, by the eſtabliſhment of an œconomical ſyſtem and the effectual reduction of the national debt, to prepare for a future war whenever a real and national neceſſity to engage in a war ſhould be proved to exiſt." It was alſo urged, in the courſe of the debate, that motives of policy no leſs than of œconomy militated againſt the granting of theſe ſubſidies; for, when we have taken the whole Electoral College into pay, they will certainly, for the ſake of having the ſubſidies renewed and continued, put off from time to time, on ſuch pleas as can

never be wanting, the election until the death of the preſent Emperor; for, ſhould the election be once made, the ſubſidies will of courſe ceaſe. By the officious and invidious interpoſition of Great Britain, it was affirmed to be too probable that an inteſtine war in the Empire might be not *prevented*, as was alleged by the partizans of the Court, but *excited*: For the other two Colleges of the Diet would certainly join with France in proteſting againſt the validity of an election ſo circumſtanced; in which caſe, it might be reaſonably expected that ſome of the Electors themſelves, who now ſo readily accepted our bribes, might be bribed to act againſt us. The goodneſs of his Majeſty's *intentions* no one preſumed to doubt; but to compliment, in the mode now propoſed, the depth of his wiſdom, or the extent of his penetration, would be ridiculous. As to that "union with his allies," on which ſuch ſtreſs ſeemed to be laid in his Majeſty's ſpeech from the throne, it was certainly very deſirable if it could be effected without ſacrificing the true intereſts of the nation: But there could be no ſufficient reaſon for purchaſing their friendſhip by extravagant ſubſidies, at a time when we had ſo little money to ſpare, ſince this union muſt always be a matter of much more importance to them than to us. England ſhould at all times be ſlow and cautious of intermeddling in the affairs of the Continent, if we wiſhed to avoid

exciting reſentments and jealouſies. Were the liberties of Europe at this or any other criſis really endangered, the powers of the Continent would no doubt ſolicit with eagerneſs our aſſiſtance; whereas, we were now giving them bribes for permiſſion to interpoſe when there was no reaſon to believe that the Empire at large were deſirous of our interference, or would be benefited by it." The ſyſtem of policy adopted by the Engliſh Court was not, however, to be ſhaken by ſuch frivolous arguments; and after an inextricable tiſſue of negotiations and intrigues, moſt aſſiduouſly carried on with the different German Princes, the Elector of Mentz, Chancellor of the Empire, at length convoked an Electoral Diet. But the King of Pruſſia, Elector of Brandenburg, who had, on the firſt indication of this deſign, manifeſted his diſlike and diſapprobation, now publicly oppoſed it with the utmoſt vehemence and pertinacity. "He declared the election in contemplation to be contrary to the laws and conſtitution of the Empire, as promulgated in the *Golden Bull*, and confirmed by the treaty of Weſtphalia, from which the Electoral College had no right to depart. In the caſes only of long abſence, continued indiſpoſition, or accidental emergency, which could not now be pretended to exiſt, did the Imperial capitulations admit the lawfulneſs of proceeding to the election of a King of the Romans during the lifetime of the Emperor.

Emperor. And, ſhould the Imperial Crown devolve to a minor, he affirmed, that many miſchiefs and diſorders muſt neceſſarily enſue, as the Conſtitutions of the Empire had eſtabliſhed no regency for the government of it in a caſe unknown to all preceding times, but had only appointed Vicars during an actual vacancy of the Imperial Throne. That an election in theſe circumſtances would be incompatible with the Germanic liberties, and with the fundamental privileges of the Princes and States of the Empire—that the Imperial dignity would be virtually changed from an elective to an hereditary ſucceſſion, perpetuated in one family, which muſt thus be aggrandized to the prejudice of its coeſtates, and the manifeſt ſubverſion of the Conſtitution of the Empire." In conſequence of theſe ſpirited remonſtrances of the Pruſſian Monarch, ſeveral of the Electors ſeemed to waver in their opinion, the King of France alſo ſolemnly proteſting, "that although, for the ſake of peace, he would not oppoſe this election, contrary as it was to the *Golden Bull*, provided it ſhould be confirmed by the unanimous conſent of the Electoral College; yet ſhould ANY ONE of the Members ſignify his diſſent, and claim the protection of France, he could not refuſe granting his aſſiſtance, as guarantee of the treaty of Weſtphalia." Attempts having been in vain made to ſoften the King of Pruſſia, the Courts of Vienna and London were at length com-

pelled to deſiſt from the proſecution of their deſign, though their Imperial Majeſties could not refrain from diſplaying marks of the bittereſt reſentment at the conduct of the Pruſſian Monarch; and were evidently watching, with eager anxiety, for a favorable opportunity of revenge. The determined and reſolute oppoſition of the King of Pruſſia to this meaſure, which he paſſes over, in the Hiſtory of his Times, in deep and myſterious ſilence, ſeems beſt accounted for by the prevalent ſuſpicion that, in caſe of the demiſe of the Emperor, he harbored a ſecret deſign of offering himſelf as a candidate for the Imperial Throne. And it is probable, that a knowlege or perſuaſion of the aſpiring views of the Pruſſian Monarch principally incited the Court of Vienna to urge with ſuch perſevering ardor a project ſo irregular and invidious. At this period, the Courts of Berlin and London were ſcarcely leſs at variance than thoſe of Vienna and Berlin; and the King of Pruſſia openly expreſſed his reſentment of the conduct of the King of England, "who had, by the influence of Engliſh ſubſidies, embarraſſed and embroiled the affairs of Germany, in which he had no right to interfere."

A profound tranquillity at this time prevailed throughout the iſland of Great Britain; and the attention of the Miniſter ſeemed, by a perfect novelty in politics, to be wholly engroſſed in deviſing and bringing forward, for the diſcuſſion and appro-

approbation of Parliament, plans and propoſals for the public good. Amongſt other laudable and liberal projects, a bill, of a nature not very important indeed, was introduced and paſſed in the Seſſion of 1753, permitting the naturalization, under certain reſtrictions, of perſons born out of the realm, profeſſing the Jewiſh religion *, it being ſuppoſed, or at leaſt hoped, that ſuch a meaſure would operate as an inducement to opulent foreigners of that perſuaſion to remove with their effects to Great Britain, to the obvious increaſe of the national commerce, credit, and proſperity. A moſt abſurd and unexpected alarm, however, was taken by the public at this juſt and beneficial meaſure; and it was aſſerted, that this adoption of *vagrant Jews* into the community, and inveſting them with the rights of denizens, would rob the natives of their birth-right—would tend to deprive them, by ſetting up a rivalſhip of intereſt and induſtry, of the means of employment—would endanger the Conſtitution in Church and State, and would be an indelible reproach to the legiſlature of a Chriſtian nation. It was even affirmed, by ſome heated enthuſiaſts, that this act was an impious attempt to invalidate the Scriptural propheſies, which declare that the

* This famous bill of naturalization gave no greater privileges to thoſe who might be deſirous of taking the advantage of it, than to Jews who were born in England, which are much inferior to thoſe which they enjoy in many other countries.

of honor and capacity, after a ſhort interval, ſucceeded Mr. Pelham as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Seals being conſigned to Sir Thomas Robinſon, formerly Ambaſſador at the Court of Vienna, a Miniſter of very moderate political attainments, and little converſant in parliamentary intrigues and conflicts, the poſt of firſt Lord of the Treaſury was occupied by the Duke of Newcaſtle. But it ſoon appeared how unequal were the talents of this Nobleman to the taſk of government, when deprived of the aſſiſtance of the counſellor and co-adjutor with whom he had been ever united in the ſtricteſt bands of political and fraternal amity. And the firſt remarkable incident of his adminiſtration too plainly ſhewed that public meaſures were no longer actuated by the wiſe and beneficent counſels of Mr. Pelham. Dr. Cameron, brother to the celebrated Cameron of Lochiel, had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, and, after the deciſive victory of Culloden, had effected his eſcape to the Continent. Notwithſtanding his being attainted by act of Parliament, he ventured, after an interval of nine years, to return *incognito* to Scotland, in order to

Miniſter, Mr. Pope has paid an elegant tribute of applauſe in one of his poetic Epiſtles:

"Pleas'd let me own in Eſher's peaceful grove,
Where Kent and Nature vie for Pelham's love,
The ſcene, the maſter, opening to my view,
I ſit and dream I ſee my Craggs anew."

tranſact

tranſact certain affairs of great conſequence, but of a nature entirely private and perſonal—relying, in caſe of exigence, with fatal indiſcretion, on the mildneſs and equity of the Britiſh government, now raiſed far above the apprehenſion of danger, on the temper of the times, and the general reſpectability of his own character. Being, however, by ſome means diſcovered, he was apprehended and brought to his trial at the Old Bailey; and his perſon being legally identified, he was convicted, and ſuffered the death of a traitor with admirable firmneſs and reſignation. It is remarkable, that even the populace were melted into tears at the melancholy ſpectacle of his execution; generouſly lamenting the exceſſive rigor of his fate; which can never be juſtified upon any public principles of neceſſity or utility, and which bears the odious aſpect of an act of obdurate and ſanguinary revenge. A far more conſpicuous proof, however, of the raſhneſs and incapacity of the preſent adminiſtration, appeared in the haughty tenor of their conduct reſpecting the Parliament of Ireland, in an affair of great delicacy and importance—unmindful that the harp, emblematic of this kingdom, produces by means of ſoft and gentle touches only its genuine harmony. In the year 1749, a conſiderable ſurplus remaining in the Iriſh Exchequer, the Houſe of Commons in that country, conceiving that they had an undoubted right to appropriate ſuch ſurplus to national

tional purpoſes, prepared heads of a bill with that deſign, to which was affixed the following preamble: "Whereas, on the 25th of March laſt, a conſiderable balance remained in the hands of the Vice-Treaſurers, or Receivers-General, of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your Majeſty's ſervice, and for the eaſe of your faithful ſubjects in this kingdom, that ſo much thereof as can be conveniently ſpared ſhould be paid, agreably to your Majeſty's moſt gracious intention, in diſcharge of part of the national debt," &c. &c. On the tranſmiſſion of this bill to England, it was affirmed, by the warm partizans of prerogative in the Council, that the Commons of Ireland had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take into conſideration the propriety of ſuch appropriation, without the previous conſent of the Crown, formally and explicitly declared. In the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament therefore, A. D. 1751, the Duke of Dorſet, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, informed the two Houſes of Parliament, in his ſpeech from the throne, that he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his Majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, would graciouſly *conſent* and recommended it to them, that ſuch a part of the money then remaining in his treaſury as ſhould be thought conſiſtent with the public ſervices, be applied towards the farther reduction

duction of the national debt. The Commons of Ireland, aſtoniſhed at this procedure of the Court, and tremblingly alive in a caſe which ſo nearly concerned their privileges, omitted, in their addreſs of thanks, all mention of his Majeſty's *conſent*, and only acknowleged his gracious attention to their eaſe and happineſs, in *recommending* to them the application of the ſurplus. And in the ſubſequent bill framed for this purpoſe, in which one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds was appropriated to the diſcharge of the public debt, the ſame omiſſion was obſervable. The Miniſters in England, highly offended with this contumacious conduct, returned the bill with an alteration in the preamble, ſignifying his Majeſty's *conſent* as well as approbation. And the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, unwilling to riſk the conſequences of a ſerious rupture, paſſed the bill without farther notice. So far had the miſunderſtanding between the Crown and Parliament of Ireland proceeded previous to the death of Mr. Pelham, and thus might it have for ever reſted, had not the evil genius of the preſent Miniſter ſuggeſted the neceſſity of ſupporting the *honor of government*, by poſitive directions to the Duke of Dorſet, in opening the Seſſion of the preſent year, to repeat the expreſſion of his Majeſty's gracious *conſent*, in mentioning the ſurplus of the public money. The Houſe, in their addreſs, not only again omitted the obnoxious word

word *conſent*, but the former expreſſions of grateful acknowlegement: And the bill of appropriation was tranſmitted to England, entirely diveſted of the uſual complimentary preamble, which the Miniſters of the Crown in England, in their great wiſdom, thought fit thus to ſupply—" And your Majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of your faithful ſubjects, has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify that you would *conſent*, and to recommend it to us that ſo much of the money remaining in your Majeſty's treaſury as ſhould be neceſſary, be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be thought expedient by Parliament." On the return of the bill, the whole nation ſeemed animated by the ſpirit of reſiſtance, and, notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the Court, the bill, thus amended, was thrown out by a majority of five voices, and the victory of the oppoſition was celebrated by univerſal rejoicings. In revenge, all thoſe who voted againſt the bill holding public employments were immediately diſmiſſed. But the rejection of the bill occaſioning a great ſtagnation in the uſual courſe of circulation, and the clamor of the public riſing high againſt the government, it was thought proper and neceſſary, by an humiliating conceſſion, to devote the ſurplus to the diſcharge of the debt in virtue of a royal letter. Thus was the dignity of government, which ought never to be lightly or capri-

capriciouſly committed, moſt ſenſibly wounded. Ireland was taught to know her own ſtrength and importance, and the firſt ſymptoms of that high and haughty ſpirit of independence were now diſcernible, which have ſince produced ſuch mighty effects.

If England, at this period, exhibited, by the clamorous oppoſition of almoſt all ranks of people to the Jew bill, plain indications that the ſpirit of fanaticiſm was by no means extinguiſhed in the nation, the ſame ſpirit operated, at the ſame time, in France, in a manner much more ſerious and alarming. Under a deluſive veil of feſtivity, pomp, and ſplendor, the Court of Verſailles, during the whole of the reign of Louis XIV. and particularly the latter years of it, concealed a moſt unrelenting and ſanguinary ſpirit of bigotry and perſecution. This ſpirit diſplayed itſelf not merely in the ſavage folly of that policy by which he attempted the extirpation of the Proteſtants, but alſo in his treatment of ſuch of the Catholics themſelves as preſumed, in any reſpect, to deviate from the eſtabliſhed dogmas of the Romiſh church. About the middle of the laſt century, a very celebrated treatiſe, under the title of *Auguſtinus*, had been written by Cornelius Janſen, Biſhop of Ypres, on the abſtruſe theological topics of grace, predeſtination, and free will, in which he explains thoſe tenets in a mode different from that uſually adopted and maintained

maintained in the ſchools, but perfectly conſonant, as this reverend and learned Prelate alleged, to the divine and apoſtolic doctrine of the great St. Auſtin. As this novel, and therefore raſh explication, however, very nearly accorded with that of Calvin and the other leading reformers of the Proteſtant churches, it excited great alarm and indignation; and the book was repeatedly cenſured, at different and diſtant intervals of time, by the intervention and authority of the Papal chair. Nevertheleſs, the partizans and admirers of this famous treatiſe, who were now diſtinguiſhed by the name of Janſeniſts, ſeemed continually to increaſe; and it was at length thought neceſſary, by a bull iſſued by Pope Clement XI. at the beginning of the preſent century, with all the terrific accompaniments of pontifical authority, ſolemnly to declare, "that all the faithful ought to condemn as heretical, not only with their mouths, but in their hearts," certain ſpecified propoſitions extracted from the book of Janſenius. This conſtitution was received by the Gallican church, and promulgated by the King's command and authority. But this bull, far from terminating, only aggravated and inflamed the diſpute; and converted it from a theological to a political controverſy. The Clergy in general, and more eſpecially the Jeſuits, were eager and zealous in their efforts to ſupport the dignity of the Romiſh See, and to enforce the acceptance of the Papal bull.

bull. On the other hand, the Parliaments of the kingdom, and particularly the Parliament of Paris, embraced every opportunity to expreſs their contempt and hatred of the bull and its partizans. The Archbiſhop of Paris, a haughty and turbulent Prelate, ſtood forth at this period as the champion of the Church, and encouraged and commanded the Clergy to deny the ſacraments *in articulo mortis* to all perſons refuſing to ſubſcribe the bull UNIGENITUS *. Divers eccleſiaſtics adhering to this injunction, were apprehended by authority of the Parliament, for their contumacious and illegal conduct. Severe cenſures were paſſed upon the Archbiſhop, and a proſecution actually commenced againſt the Biſhop of Orleans; when a mandate from the Court was iſſued, prohibiting all farther proceedings in theſe matters. The Parliament, in return, preſented a ſpirited remonſtrance to the throne, declaring it to be their indiſpenſable duty and privilege to denounce and execute judgment on all delinquents. And, on the renewal of the royal command, they framed new remonſtrances, to which the King refuſed to reply, referring them to his former peremptory declaration. Upon which the Parliament reſolved "that the different chambers ſhould remain aſſembled, but that all buſineſs ſhould be ſuſpended while, by the practiſes

* By this appellation the bull was univerſally known, the term *Unigenitus* being the firſt word contained in it.

of evil-minded perſons, truth was prevented from reaching the throne." Another mandate was now iſſued, ordering the Parliament to revoke this reſolution, on pain of the King's high diſpleaſure; inſtead of which, a ſecond reſolution was paſſed, that they could not comply with this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. Upon which, *lettres de cachet* were immediately iſſued, and the Members of the Parliament baniſhed to diſtant parts of the kingdom: And a royal chamber was inſtituted for the intermediate adminiſtration of public juſtice. The letters patent for the eſtabliſhment of this court were, however, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, not valid till they were judicially enregiſtered; and the Parliament of Paris being now no more, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which declared its abſolute incompetency for that purpoſe: And the *Lieutenant Civile* appearing in the court in order to enforce the regiſtery, all the Counſellors roſe up and retired, leaving on the table an *arret*, containing their proteſt againſt theſe proceedings: In conſequence of which, ſeveral of the moſt reſpectable and ſpirited members of this court were committed to the Baſtile. The nation at large was now in the higheſt degree inflamed and exaſperated at the deſpotic conduct of the Court. The provincial Parliaments preſented bold remonſtrances to the throne, juſtificatory of the Par-

Parliament of Paris. The proſecutions of the contumacious prieſts were every-where continued, and things ſeemed evidently tending to open and general revolt, when the Court thought proper to avert the ſtorm by a recal of the Parliament, who publicly re-entered Paris amidſt the loudeſt acclamations of the people. And the Archbiſhop perſiſting in his former exhortations and directions to the Clergy, was ſent as an exile to Conflans-ſous-Charenton. But the wound occaſioned by this diſſenſion between the Court and Parliament was never radically healed; and the King, after the lapſe of about two years, not only recalled the Archbiſhop, but received, with decided marks of royal approbation, a bull from the Roman Pontiff, in which thoſe who rejected the bull *Unigenitus* were piouſly conſigned to everlaſting damnation, and the reiterated refuſal of the ſacraments confirmed by the authoritative ſanction of the Holy See. The Parliament of Paris regarding this bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church and nation, iſſued an *arret* for its ſuppreſſion; upon which freſh conteſts aroſe, but the Parliament remained firm, and the Court was finally compelled to deſiſt from thoſe claims and pretenſions, which it had ſo unwiſely and unſeaſonably agitated. This memorable ſtruggle made a mighty and laſting impreſſion upon the minds of the people. The popularity of the Monarch, formerly diſtinguiſhed by

the flattering appellation of *Le bien-aimé*, was for ever departed. New and intereſting ideas began to revolve in the public mind. The origin of the controverſy was, in the progreſs of it, forgotten; and the recal of the Parliament was not the triumph of Janſeniſm, but of Liberty. The deſpotic acts of the Court were regarded by the nation with emotions of horror. Various publications, by writers of the higheſt talents, ſucceſſively appeared, in which the principles of juſt and equitable government were explained and illuſtrated with irreſiſtible force and energy; the boldeſt ſpeculations were indulged; prejudices, the moſt deeply rooted, were ſucceſsfully aſſailed; an eager and ardent ſpirit of reſearch was excited; touched by the wand of philoſophy, the mighty taliſman by which the nation had been faſt bound in the ſleep of a thouſand years, was ſuddenly diſſolved; reaſon began to reſume her empire, and an internal revolution now commenced—a revolution of the mind, which was pre-ordained, in the gradual and regular progreſſion of events, to produce an external revolution unparalleled for the magnitude of its object, and the extent of its conſequences, in the annals of mankind. But, alas! no unmixed good has ever yet been the lot of mortals; and experience too clearly evinces that truths of the higheſt moral and political importance, when firſt ſuggeſted to men long bowed down by the iron hand of oppreſſion,

and

and newly awakened to a ſenſe of their own rights, are as flaſhes of lightning which irradiate the gloom with a pale, terrific, and dangerous luſtre.

The political contentions, however, which at this period aroſe between the kingdoms of Great Britain and France, and which terminated in a long and bloody war, ſeemed, for ſome years, to abſorb all internal and domeſtic commotion; and the reſources of both nations were exhauſted in a conteſt which a very ſmall portion of wiſdom, had they been really and mutually diſpoſed to conciliation, might have ſufficed to accommodate. After the ceſſion of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht, the Britiſh Colonies in North America extended along the weſtern ſhore of the Atlantic for near a thouſand miles, and, according to the tenor of the charters granted to the original ſettlers, the dominion of the ſoil was bounded only by the Pacific Ocean on the oppoſite ſide of the Continent. Spain, in whom were veſted the rights attached to the firſt diſcovery, advanced claims no leſs extravagant, and regarded as unwarrantable uſurpations the ſucceſſive ſettlements of the Engliſh nation. France, which held in contempt the pretenſions both of England and Spain, eſtabliſhed, at a more recent period, colonies on the river St. Laurence to the north, and on the Miſſiſippi to the ſouth, of the Engliſh ſettlements: And a ſyſtematic and artfully concerted plan was formed to con-

nect theſe widely-diſtant eſtabliſhments by the gradual erection of a chain of fortreſſes from the lakes Erie and Ontario, along and beyond the Ohio to the *embouchure* of the Miſſiſippi. To the rich and immenſe plains extending on both ſides of that vaſt river they gave the appellation of Louiſiana; and they contended, that the Engliſh Colonies were of right bounded by the range of high lands which ran parallel to the coaſt, at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty, or two hundred miles, under the different names of the Apalachian, Alleghaheny, or Blue Mountains. The province of Nova Scotia being ceded to England, according to the *ancient limits* of that territory, fruitleſs and endleſs altercations aroſe, as to the import of this expreſſion, between the Commiſſaries of the two nations, to whom the right of fixing the boundaries of the rival empires was aſſigned; the Engliſh claiming the whole territory as far as the ſouthern bank of the river St. Laurence, and the French admitting their right only to the peninſula of Acadie. Another very ſerious cauſe of diſpute originated in a royal charter inconſiderately and injuriouſly granted to certain merchants and adventurers of the city of London, who aſſumed the title of the Ohio Company, of a large tract of ground ſituated on the banks of the Ohio, with an excluſive privilege of commerce with the Indian tribes inhabiting thoſe regions. This extraordinary grant excited extreme diſguſt

diſguſt in the minds of the Virginian and Penſylvanian traders, who ſaw themſelves deprived of a lucrative branch of traffic, and the higheſt alarm amongſt the Indian nations, who perceived with aſtoniſhment their lands meaſured and parcelled out by Engliſh ſurveyors, as if they, who were the actual occupants, had neither intereſt nor property in them. And M. du Queſne, Governor of Canada, declared that he would ſuffer no encroachments or depredations to be made on the Indian tribes under the protection of the Crown of France. Towards the latter end of the year 1753, Major Waſhington, ſince ſo famous under the name of General Waſhington, was deputed by the government of Virginia to the French Commandant on the Ohio, to demand by what authority fortreſſes were erected, and ſettlements made, on the territories of the King of Great Britain; and to require him immediately to deſiſt from the proſecution of deſigns carried on in open violation of the treaties ſubſiſting between the two Crowns, and totally ſubverſive of the harmony and good underſtanding which his Britannic Majeſty was deſirous to maintain and cultivate with the Moſt Chriſtian King. To this peremptory requiſition, which almoſt aſſumed the air and tone of a menace, the French Officer replied with equal ſpirit, that it was not his province to ſpecify the evidence, and demonſtrate the right of the King

his Sovereign to the lands ſituated on the river Ohio; but that he would tranſmit his meſſage to the Marquis du Queſne, his immediate ſuperior. In the mean time, he declared his total diſregard of the ſummons of the Engliſh Governor, and holding his command by virtue of a commiſſion from his General, he was prepared and determined to maintain the rights, and to fulfil the duties, of his ſtation. A far more ſerious remonſtrance was, about the ſame time, preſented by the Earl of Albemarle, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at Paris, to the Court of Verſailles, in which the various cauſes of complaint on the part of England were ſtated in very ſtrong language. It was declared that, while the Commiſſaries of the two nations were engaged in adjuſting the limits of the two empires, the French had taken actual poſſeſſion of the territories in diſpute; that they had incited the Indians of Nova Scotia and the French inhabitants of Acadie to riſe in arms againſt the Engliſh government, and had aſſiſted them with veſſels and military ſtores; that acts of violence had been repeatedly exerciſed by the authority or countenance of the French Governors againſt the ſubjects of Great Britain; and numerous fortreſſes erected with a view to defend their continual and manifeſt encroachments on the territories of his Britannic Majeſty: And his Excellency concluded with demanding the eraſure of the forts, the reſtitution of the perſons and properties

properties of all thoſe who had been captured, and an unequivocal aſſurance that effectual care ſhould be taken, by the moſt poſitive inſtructions to the French Commandants in America, to prevent any ſimilar cauſes of complaint in future. The French Court not being yet prepared, or not having yet reſolved to riſk an open rupture with Great Britain, replied to this memorial in terms civilly evaſive, and engaged that inquiries ſhould be made, and inſtructions tranſmitted to America to obviate all miſunderſtanding; and ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects, traders and others, ſeized by the French on various pretences, were actually diſmiſſed.

On the laſt day of May 1754, the Parliament, newly elected, was opened by commiſſion, and, in the ſpeech delivered by the Lord Chancellor, the two Houſes were informed, that his Majeſty did not at that time think it neceſſary to call their attention to the general ſtate of the nation, reſerving all diſcuſſions of this nature to the uſual time of their aſſembling in the winter; and, on the fifth of June, the Lords Commiſſioners prorogued the Parliament. Notwithſtanding this apparent indifference, the Court of London confiding little in the ſpecious and artful profeſſions of the Court of Verſailles, iſſued orders to the Engliſh Governors in America to repel force by force, and to take effectual meaſures to diſlodge the French from their ſettlements on the Ohio, where they ſtill continued

their hoſtilities and encroachments. A congreſs being appointed at Albany, conſiſting of Commiſſioners from the different colonies, to which the chieftains of the Indian nations bordering on the Ohio were invited, it ſoon appeared, though they refuſed not to accept the offered and cuſtomary preſents, that they were entirely attached to the French intereſts—a predilection indeed eaſy to be accounted for by the ſuperior humanity and juſtice diſplayed in every part of the conduct of the French nation in their tranſactions with the ancient inhabitants of the Continent, compared with the violent and imperious deportment of the Engliſh. At this meeting, it was determined that Major Waſhington, who had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallantry and ſpirit, ſhould be detached with a corps of four hundred men, in order to occupy a poſt on the Ohio, where he threw up works, and began the erection of a fort, in expectation of ſpeedy and effectual reinforcements; but before the intended ſuccours could arrive, this officer was ſuddenly attacked by a much ſuperior force of French and Indians, commanded by M. de Viller, who, after in vain ſummoning Major Waſhington to ſurrender, marched to the attack of the fort, yet incomplete, and ill prepared for an aſſault, which was nevertheleſs ſuſtained with great vigor; but the Engliſh garriſon were at length compelled to a capitulation, and they were allowed to retreat,

not

not unmoleſted indeed by the irregular attacks of the ſavages, to the province of Virginia. This event, as ſoon as the intelligence arrived in Europe, was ſtated, in a memorial of the Earl of Albemarle, as an open violation of the peace. But the Court of Verſailles, no longer ſolicitous to keep any meaſures with England, treated all remonſtrances with diſregard; and ſent large reinforcements of men, and ſupplies of military ſtores, to Quebec, with a manifeſt determination to purſue and defend her ambitious projects.

The Parliament of England met in November, but a profound ſilence reſpecting the preſent critical ſituation of affairs was obſerved on the part of the Crown, till, in the month of March (1755), a meſſage was delivered from the King to the Parliament by Sir Thomas Robinſon, Secretary of State, importing that "his Majeſty having, at the commencement of the Seſſion, declared it to be the principal object of his ſolicitude to preſerve the public tranquillity, and to protect thoſe poſſeſſions which conſtitute a primary ſource of the public proſperity, now found it neceſſary to acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that the preſent ſtate of affairs made it requiſite to augment his forces by ſea and land, and to take ſuch other meaſures as might beſt tend to preſerve the peace of Europe, and to ſecure the juſt rights of his crown in America." This meſſage produced a warm and affectionate addreſs,

dreſs, and the ſum of one million was inſtantly voted for the purpoſes ſpecified by his Majeſty. While M. de Mirepoix, the French Ambaſſador in London, ſtill continued to amuſe the Britiſh Miniſtry with empty profeſſions of peace and amity, certain intelligence was received that a powerful armament was preparing in the ports of Rochefort and Breſt, deſtined for America; and Admiral Boſcawen was immediately appointed to the command of an equal force, fitted out for the avowed purpoſe of intercepting them. On which M. de Mirepoix declared, that the King his maſter would conſider the firſt gun fired at ſea as a declaration of war. The Britiſh Admiral, hoping to obſtruct the paſſage of the French fleet into the gulph of St. Laurence, took his ſtation off the banks of Newfoundland; but, under cover of the thick fogs which ſo commonly prevail in thoſe northern latitudes, the French Commander eluded his vigilance; two ſhips of the line only, the Alcide and Lys, being by ſome accident ſeparated from the reſt, fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Upon the arrival of this intelligence at Paris, the Duc de Mirepoix was immediatedly recalled from London, and M. de Buſſy from Hanover—the King of England being now reſident in that city. Letters of general repriſal were iſſued by the Engliſh Court at this period, as well in Europe as America, and three hundred merchant ſhips, for the moſt part

unſuſ-

unſuſpicious of danger, fell, in the courſe of the year, into the hands of the Engliſh, with not leſs than eight thouſand ſailors on board. The French vehemently exclaimed againſt the conduct of the Engliſh government as inconſiſtent with the law of nations, war not having been as yet formally proclaimed; but the Engliſh inſiſted that the French themſelves being clearly the aggreſſors, it was juſt and lawful to repel force by force, and that the omiſſion of a form was wholly immaterial. Early in the year 1755, General Braddock had ſailed from Cork with a conſiderable body of regular troops, and, on his arrival in Virginia, took upon him the command of the forces deſtined to act againſt the French on the Ohio. This officer was a man of approved bravery, completely verſed in all points of military diſcipline, but opinionated and poſitive in his temper, and in his deportment auſtere and imperious. Wholly unacquainted with the country in which he was appointed to the chief command, and entertaining a ſovereign contempt for the colonial militia, of whom his army was in a great meaſure compoſed, he heard with ſilent diſdain all that information which the provincial officers were deſirous to offer reſpecting the mode of conducting an American expedition through woods, deſerts, and moraſſes, and the precautions which were neceſſary to guard againſt ſurpriſe, particularly as the Indian nations were

for

for the moſt part in alliance with France. Having advanced with the moſt fearleſs ſecurity to leſs than ten miles of Fort Du Queſne, and without condeſcending, though earneſtly preſſed, to employ the irregulars in the ſervice as an advanced guard, or to ſend out any parties to reconnoitre the country, about noon on the ninth of July, in his march through a pathleſs ſwamp, entangled amid brakes and ruſhes, he was on the ſudden ſaluted with the horrid ſound of the Indian war-whoop, accompanied by a general fire both on his front and flank from a concealed and inviſible enemy. The vanguard immediately fell back, and terror and confuſion ſoon ſpread throughout all the ranks of the army. The General, far from making any efforts to diſcover and diſperſe this dangerous ambuſcade, exerted himſelf only to re-form and rally his troops, as if engaged with a regular army in an open plain. But the exacteſt diſcipline was, in this ſituation, of little avail; for, though no enemy appeared, the havock and ſlaughter ſtill continued, and the General himſelf being at length killed by a muſquet ſhot, the regular troops fled the field with the utmoſt precipitation—the provincials, ſo much deſpiſed, forming in the rear, and covering their retreat. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left in the hands of the enemy, and even the General's own cabinet, with all his letters and inſtructions; and the whole conduct

duct of this expedition plainly proved that perſonal courage, though an indiſpenſable requiſite, is only a ſecondary qualification in the character of a military Commander. Very indifferent ſucceſs alſo attended the operations carried on in the more northerly parts of the Continent. On the death of General Braddock, the chief command devolved upon General Shirley, who formed a plan for the reduction of the important fortreſſes of Crown Point and Niagara, erected by the French on the banks of the lakes Champlain and Ontario. The expedition againſt the former was conducted by General, afterwards Sir William Johnſon, a native of Ireland, but long reſident in America, where he had acquired great and deſerved popularity. From various cauſes of delay, the troops deſtined for this ſervice arrived at the place of rendezvous late in the ſummer; and were, ſoon after the commencement of their march, attacked in their camp by Baron Dieſkau, the French Commander, with great bravery, who was, notwithſtanding, repulſed with great loſs—the Baron himſelf being made a priſoner. General Johnſon, however, found himſelf, after this bloody encounter, too much weakened to proceed in his expedition; and, after ſome deliberation, he determined upon a retreat to Albany. General Shirley himſelf undertook the conduct of the enterpriſe againſt Niagara, which, from its poſition, commands the communication between

between the lakes Erie and Ontario. But on his arrival at Oſwego, a fort belonging to the Engliſh on the ſouth-eaſtern ſhore of lake Ontario, he deemed it neceſſary to leave a very large proportion of the troops under his command for the defence of this poſt; and, after waiting till the end of September for his expected reinforcements and ſupplies of proviſions and ſtores, he was informed that it would be attended with danger to croſs the lake at this advanced ſeaſon of the year. He therefore determined to defer the ſiege of Niagara to the next campaign; and ſet out in October on his return Albany. The Earl of Loudon, an officer of reputation and merit, was now appointed Commander in Chief of the Britiſh forces in America, and veſted with very extenſive powers. But this Nobleman, from cauſes not eaſy to develope, did not embark from England till the latter end of May; and, on reaching the head-quarters at Albany June 29 (1756), he found all military operations in a manner ſuſpended, in the expectation of his arrival; after which, a conſiderable time elapſed in debates and conſultations reſpecting the plan moſt proper to be adopted, and whether the efforts of the army now aſſembled ſhould be directed againſt Crown Point and Ticonderago, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of lake Champlain; whether a ſecond attempt ſhould be made againſt Niagara; or whether an expedition ſhould be undertaken

againſt

againſt Fort Du Queſne on the Ohio. In the midſt of theſe deliberations, intelligence arrived that the French, under M. de Montcalm, had made themſelves maſters of Oſwego, although ſtrongly garriſoned, plentifully provided with all kinds of warlike ſtores, and defended by one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. Apparently diſcouraged and diſconcerted by this unfortunate event, it was determined not to riſk any offenſive operation during the remainder of the preſent ſeaſon, but to employ the autumnal and winter months in making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the enſuing year. Notwithſtanding the former diſappointments, high and ſanguine hopes were entertained from the great military force collected in the ſpring of 1757, and the avowed purpoſe of the Commander in Chief to employ his whole ſtrength in ſome grand and deciſive operation. Admiral Holbourne arrived at Halifax with a powerful ſquadron, and large reinforcements of troops, in the beginning of July; and the Earl of Loudon, directing his march northward, an invaſion of Canada, with their united forces, was reaſonably to be expected. At length, however, Louiſburg, in the iſland of Cape Breton, was declared to be the object in contemplation—a ſcheme very favorable to the views and intereſts of France at this period, as it left M. de Montcalm entirely at liberty to proſecute his plans of conqueſt, and Louiſburg was

ſo ſtrongly defended, that little apprehenſion was entertained for its ſafety. And the Britiſh Commanders receiving certain intelligence, after the whole of the military and naval force deſtined for this expedition had rendezvouſed at Halifax, that the garriſon of Louiſburg conſiſted of ſix thouſand regular troops, excluſive of provincials, and that ſeventeen line-of-battle ſhips were moored in the harbor, it was reſolved, according to the cuſtom of this war, to poſtpone the expedition to a more convenient opportunity. In the mean time, the Marquis de Montcalm had taken advantage of the abſence of the Earl of Loudon to lay ſiege, with an army of ten thouſand men, to the important poſt of Fort William Henry, ſituated on the ſouthern ſhore of lake George. The garriſon conſiſted of three thouſand men, the fortifications were ſtrong and in good condition, and General Webb, with about four thouſand men, was poſted in the vicinity, in order to maintain a communication with it. Notwithſtanding which, ſo vigorouſly were the approaches of the French Commander urged, that articles of capitulation were ſigned in ſix days, not only importing the entire ſurrender of the fort, artillery, and ſtores, but reſtraining the garriſon from ſerving againſt his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, or his allies, for the ſpace of eighteen months. By this conqueſt, the French acquired the entire command of the extenſive and magnificent chain of lakes

lakes which connects the two great rivers St. Laurence and Miſſiſippi, and which forms a grand line both of communication and diviſion between the northern and ſouthern parts of this vaſt Continent. And thus diſgracefully terminated the third campaign of the American war, in which the French, with a very inferior force, had maintained an uniform ſuperiority, and in the courſe of which no advantage had been gained by the Engliſh, excepting, indeed, the expulſion of the French from Nova Scotia, by the vigorous exertions of Colonel Monckton, aſſiſted by a body of provincials, expreſsly voted and detached by the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſets for this important purpoſe. Nor were the operations of the war at this period more ſkilfully or proſperouſly conducted by the Engliſh nation in Europe than in America. The Court of Verſailles, finding a rupture with England inevitable, had employed earneſt ſolicitations with the Court of Madrid to take an active part in her favor. Her efforts, however, were in vain, though ſupported by all the influence of the Queen-Mother and the Marquis de la Enſenada, the Prime Miniſter. The King of Spain himſelf was not diſpoſed to interrupt the harmony which ſubſiſted between Spain and Great Britain; and Don Ricardo Wall, a Spaniard of Britiſh extraction, and formerly reſident at the Britiſh Court, and who poſſeſſed great credit with the King, took all imagin-

able pains to confirm his Majeſty in theſe favorable ſentiments: And the intrigues of the Miniſter with the Court of Verſailles being diſcovered, he was diveſted of his offices, which were immediately conferred upon his competitor Don Ricardo. The Court of Madrid, however, offered her *mediation* to compoſe the differences between England and France; but France inſiſting upon a ſuſpenſion of arms in America as the preliminary condition of a negotiation, and England refuſing to aſſent to any ſuch preliminary, nothing could be effected. And the Courts of London and Verſailles foreſeeing a violent and long-protracted conflict, were aſſiduouſly engaged in forming and cultivating alliances in the different Courts of Europe, in order to ſtrengthen their reſpective intereſts. A treaty was ſigned by the King of England, when at Hanover, June 25 (1755), with the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, by which his Serene Highneſs engaged to hold in readineſs for his Majeſty's ſervice a body of twelve thouſand men. But Saxony and Bavaria, notwithſtanding the ſubſidies which they had regularly received during the years of peace, in contemplation and as the earneſt of future ſervices, now entered into oppoſite connections—laughing, no doubt, at the credulity of the Engliſh nation, in ſuppoſing honor and gratitude to be ties obligatory upon Princes. In September, a treaty was ſigned at the palace of Kenſington between his Britannic Majeſty and the Empreſs

Empreſs of Ruſſia, by which that Princeſs ſtipulated to maintain, on the frontiers of Livonia, an army of forty thouſand infantry, and fifteen thouſand cavalry, and a naval force of fifty gallies, to be in immediate readineſs to act at the requiſition of the King of England, ſhould the electoral dominions of that Monarch be invaded in conſequence of the connection of Hanover with Great Britain; for which an annual ſubſidy of five hundred thouſand pounds was to be advanced to the Czarina. The Court of Berlin was, at this criſis, ſtrongly aſſailed by the Courts of London and Verſailles, each flattering itſelf with a deciſion in its favor. But the Pruſſian Monarch, knowing the engagements already contracted between England and Ruſſia, and the ſtrict amity ſubſiſting between the Imperial Courts of Vienna and Peterſburg, would not venture to draw upon himſelf the reſentment of theſe three formidable powers, by a renewal of the alliance with France; and, in January 1756, a treaty was ſigned at London between the Kings of Great Britain and Pruſſia, by which they engaged to oppoſe the introduction of any foreign troops into the Empire. This article, though immediately pointed againſt France, amounted to a virtual renunciation of the alliance with Ruſſia; and the Czarina reſenting the conduct of the King of Great Britain, and exaſperated, from cauſes of a perſonal as well as political nature,

againſt the King of Pruſſia, began to liſten with attention, or rather with eagerneſs, to the overtures of France, hitherto ſo much the object of her jealouſy and averſion. "The Empreſs Elizabeth, ſays the King of Pruſſia, who had ever been at enmity with France, rather choſe to enter into a league with her, than to preſerve the ſhadow of union with a power which had Pruſſia for an ally." The Court of Verſailles, aſtoniſhed and alarmed at the defection of Pruſſia, which, as the King himſelf tells us, ſeemed to be conſidered in France almoſt in the light of a revolt *, now directed its attention to the Court of Vienna; which, ſince the termination of the late war, had given clear and repeated intimations of a deſire to enter into bonds of permanent amity with France: And, to the amazement of Europe, a treaty of mutual guarantee and ſupport was concluded and ſigned at Verſailles, May 1756, by theſe two great rival powers; and the inveterate hereditary animoſity ſubſiſting for ages between the Houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria,

* "La Cour de Verſailles paroiſſoit croire que le Roi de Pruſſe etoit à l'égard de la France ce qu'eſt un deſpote de Valachie à l'egard de la Porte, c'eſt a dire, un Prince ſubordonné et obligé de faire la guerre dès qu'on lui en envoie l'ordre. La nouvelle de cette alliance cauſa une vive ſenſation à Verſailles dans l'eſprit de Louis XV. et de ſon conſeil; peu s'en fallut qu'ils ne diſſent que le Roi de Pruſſe s'etoit revolté contre la France."—*Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

in

in conſequence of which, oceans of blood had been ſhed, and the faireſt countries of Chriſtendom deſolated, was at length, if the profeſſions of Princes could merit any ſerious regard, for ever terminated. Theſe profeſſions were indeed, in this inſtance unuſually ſincere. The ruling paſſion of France was, at this period, the depreſſion of the power of England—and of Auſtria, the ſubverſion of that of Pruſſia, which had ſo recently aſpired to a ſtation in the firſt rank of European powers, and preſumptuouſly eſtabliſhed an unheard-of rivalſhip in the boſom of the Empire itſelf to the Imperial family. When an union between England and Pruſſia therefore took place, that repulſive force by which the Houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria had been ſo long ſundered, was inſtantly changed to a political attraction, naturally leading to a ſtrict and intimate adheſion. The general conduct of France left ſcarcely a doubt of her intention to take advantage of the political relation of Hanover to Great Britain, by the invaſion of that Electorate; although it muſt be acknowleged, that terms of neutrality were offered to the King of England as Elector of Hanover, which he did not deem it conſiſtent with his honor and dignity to accept. Mighty preparations being made by the French Court, with the avowed deſign of forming a powerful army in Weſtphalia, an army of obſervation, conſiſting of about forty thouſand Heſ-

ſians, Hanoverians, and Brunſwickers, was aſſembled for the protection of the Electorate: And requiſitions were made by the Court of London both at Vienna and the Hague, for the aſſiſtance ſtipulated by treaties. The Empreſs-Queen at firſt alleged that, as the conteſt between England and France related to America only, it was not a *caſus fœderis*, and that Hanover might be ſecured by a treaty of neutrality. When the war became general, and the application was renewed, ſhe profeſſed that troops could not be ſpared with ſafety to her own dominions, which were in danger from the enmity of Pruſſia. And being again urged after the alliance between England and Pruſſia was concluded, ſhe declared in plain terms, that, being abandoned by England, ſhe was reduced to the neceſſity of ſecuring herſelf by an alliance with France. As to the provinces of the Belgic union, they had ſcarcely recovered from the terrors of the former war; the public finances were exhauſted, and the people in general extremely averſe to engage in hoſtilities. The Court of Verſailles, moreover, by a counter-memorial, declared, that, "ſhould the States grant the ſuccors in queſtion, the King of France would conſider their compliance as an act of hoſtility againſt himſelf." The application of the Engliſh Court, therefore, being perceived, from the operation of theſe cauſes, uſeleſs and unavailing, Colonel Yorke, the Engliſh Ambaſſador, was directed

rected to inform their High Mightineſſes, that the King of England would not inſiſt on the requiſition; and the States expreſſed, in grateful terms, their acknowlegements to his Britannic Majeſty for thus generouſly relieving them from their embarraſſment.

The Parliament of England aſſembled in November 1755, and, in the opening ſpeech, his Majeſty informed the two Houſes "that he had adopted what appeared to him the moſt proper and effectual meaſures for the protection of the national poſſeſſions in America, no reaſonable terms of accommodation having been propoſed by France; and alſo to diſappoint ſuch deſigns as, from various appearances and preparations, there was ground to believe had been formed againſt his kingdoms and dominions; that he had greatly augmented his forces by land and ſea; and that he had concluded treaties with Ruſſia and Heſſe Caſſel, copies of which ſhould be laid before them." In the addreſs moved in both Houſes, in anſwer to this ſpeech, were the following words: "That they looked upon themſelves as obliged by the ſtrongeſt ties of duty, gratitude, and honor, to ſtand by and ſupport his Majeſty in all ſuch wiſe and neceſſary meaſures and engagements, as his Majeſty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his Crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France in reſentment for ſuch meaſures,

and

and to aſſiſt his Majeſty in diſappointing or repelling all ſuch enterpriſes as might be formed not only againſt his kingdoms, but alſo againſt any other of his dominions, *though not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain*, in caſe the King ſhould be attacked on account of the part which his Majeſty had taken for maintaining the eſſential intereſts of his kingdoms." The declaration contained in this clauſe met with a moſt vehement and formidable oppoſition in the Houſe of Commons, not from the powerleſs party uſually voting in oppoſition, but from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the moſt popular members of the preſent adminiſtration, and a very conſiderable number of other Gentlemen poſſeſſing poſts under the government. Mr. Pitt declared "the whole ſyſtem and ſcheme of politics now adopted, to be flagrantly abſurd and deſperate. It was no other than to gather and combine the powers of the Continent into an alliance of magnitude ſufficient to withſtand the efforts of France and her adherents againſt the Electorate of Hanover, at the ſingle expenſe of Great Britain. The three laſt wars with France had coſt Britain above one hundred and twenty millions of money; the preſent exhibits a proſpect of an effuſion of treaſure ſtill more enormous: And, when we conſider that ſuch immenſe iſſues of money are to be ſupplied by new loans, heaped upon a debt of eighty millions, who will anſwer for the conſequence, or venture to enſure

us from a national bankruptcy? Mr. Pitt contended, that a naval war we could and ought to ſupport, but a Continental war, upon this ſyſtem, we could not. We have ſuffered ourſelves to be deceived by names and ſounds; the general cauſe, the balance of power, the liberty of Europe; and have exhauſted our wealth without any rational object. Should Hanover be actually attacked on account of her connection with England, he acknowleged that we ought not to make peace without procuring for its inhabitants ample ſatisfaction and indemnity. But the idea of defending Hanover by an army of mercenaries, he ridiculed as prepoſterous and impracticable. This ſyſtem, he ſaid, would, in a few years, coſt us more money than the fee-ſimple of the Electorate was worth; for it was a place ſo inconſiderable, that its name was ſcarcely to be found in the map. He ardently wiſhed to break thoſe fetters which chained us, like Prometheus, to that barren rock." The clauſe was, however, carried on a diviſion; and the King, in his reply to the addreſs, thanked the two Houſes in the ſtrongeſt terms for this ſignal proof of their affection to his perſon and regard for his honor. This tranſaction was followed by the immediate diſmiſſion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge from their reſpective employments.

It muſt be remarked that, three days before the meeting of Parliament, Sir Thomas Robinſon, Secretary

cretary of State, from an honeſt and ſincere conſciouſneſs of his own incapacity to conduct the buſineſs of government in the Houſe of Commons, had reſigned the Seals, which were directly transferred to Mr. Fox, Secretary at War, who unqueſtionably, in reſpect of political ability, had at this time no rival in the Houſe of Commons, Mr. Pitt only excepted. Though engaged for ſeveral years paſt in the ſupport of the ſame adminiſtration, they were actuated by a very viſible jealouſy on almoſt all occaſions. And it was obſerved, that they agreed in nothing ſo well as in thoſe ſentiments of contempt for the late Miniſter, which they were at little pains to conceal. It may eaſily be ſuppoſed, therefore, that Mr. Pitt, who could endure no ſuperior, was very little delighted with the advancement of his competitor, who ſeemed as firmly reſolved to admit no equal: And Mr. Legge entering entirely into the views of Mr. Pitt, it was imagined that the new Miniſter would not long be able to maintain his ground againſt an oppoſition ſtrengthened by ſo powerful a ſeceſſion, founded on profeſſions ſo popular and patriotic. Mr. Fox however, ſupported by the favor of the King, the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland, and the undivided intereſt of the Pelhams, was able to ſecure a triumphant majority: And the treaties with Ruſſia and Heſſe Caſſel, though ſtrongly and obſtinately oppoſed, were ratified in a Houſe conſiſting of four hundred and forty-eight

Members, by three hundred and twenty againſt one hundred and twenty-eight. This great majority could not, however, diſguiſe the impolicy and imbecility of the conduct of the Premier, who, perplexed by all the fears and jealouſies incident to a weak yet aſpiring mind, had neither dared, at the demiſe of Mr. Pelham, to enter into a confidential connection with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the only men in the Houſe of Commons by whom he could be effectually ſupported, nor entirely to break with them. On his aſſuming, therefore, the direction of the Treaſury, the Seals of his department as Secretary were indeed offered to Mr. Fox, but in a mode and under conditions which Mr. Fox thought too degrading to accept—Mr. Pitt being, at the ſame time, amuſed with artificial profeſſions and aſſurances of regard *ſignifying nothing*. On the reſignation of Sir Thomas Robinſon, whoſe utter inability to elevate himſelf into the rank of a rival to the Duke was his grand recommendation to the high office he held, the Seals were given to Mr. Fox on his own terms, and his Grace was reduced to the neceſſity of *ſoliciting* a favor, when he had it in his power to have *conferred* one *. In the midſt of theſe

* In an official conference between the Duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Pitt, his Grace mentioning the American expedition on the Ohio, Mr. Pitt ſaid, "Your Grace knows that I have no capacity for theſe things; and I do not therefore deſire to be informed

theſe political contentions, intelligence arrived of a diſaſter which excited the moſt vivid emotions of grief

informed about them." In the ſummer of 1755, changes being in contemplation, advances were made to Mr. Pitt; and the Lord Chancellor, on the part of the Duke of Newcaſtle, told him, "that although the King had taken diſagreable prejudices, and was very fond of Lord Holderneſs and Sir Thomas Robinſon, in caſe any accident ſhould take place, if he would aſſiſt them cordially, it might perhaps happen, that they might procure the Seals for him, *which he ſo much deſired.*" Mr. Pitt repeating the laſt words of the Chancellor, aſked, "Of whom? He did not remember he had ever applied to his Lordſhip for them; he was ſure he never had to the Duke of Newcaſtle; and he aſſured the Chancellor that, if they could prevail upon his Majeſty to give them to him under preſent circumſtances, all the uſe he would make of them would be to lay them at his Majeſty's feet. If he aſked for any favor, it would be that they ſhould inform his Majeſty better. To enable him, or any one elſe to conduct the buſineſs of the nation in the Houſe of Commons, they muſt give him proper diſtinction and powers; he ſaid the Duke's ſyſtem would not do, and, while he had life and breath to utter, he would oppoſe it. There muſt be men of efficiency and authority in the Houſe, who ſhould have acceſs to the Crown, habitual, frequent, familiar acceſs, that they might be able to ſpeak and act with effect, to do themſelves and their friends JUSTICE, and not be the victims of a WHISPER."

Lord Melcombe.

Some years previous to this period, on occaſion of a petition preſented to the Houſe of Commons, relative to a conteſted election for the borough of Seaford, in which the Duke of Newcaſtle had too groſsly and publicly interfered, Mr. Potter, ſon of Abp. Potter, the ſucceſſor of Dr. Wake in the metropolitan ſee of Canterbury, a young man whoſe talents and accompliſhments

grief and compaſſion amongſt all ranks and orders of perſons throughout the nation. This was no other than the almoſt total deſtruction of the city of Liſbon by a tremendous earthquake, on the firſt of November *. The two principal ſhocks, which were not of the *horizontal*, but *vorticoſe* ſpecies, continued near a quarter of an hour, and they were immediately followed by a moſt extraordinary riſe and inundation of the Tagus. A vaſt number of churches, monaſteries, and other pub-

pliſhments would have rendered him, could he have relinquiſhed the monſtrous ambition "to ſhine a TULLY and a WILMOT too," the ornament of his country—declared, in the debate which aroſe, "that, if ever the annals of thoſe times were delivered down to poſterity by a faithful hiſtorian, he would have a new portrait to draw—of a Miniſter the moſt incapable though the moſt ambitious, the weakeſt though the moſt inſolent, the moſt puſillanimous though the moſt preſumptuous." Mr. Pelham, upon this, roſe to call to order, ſaying, "that, though no perſon had been as yet actually named, this character muſt be intended for ſomebody; and cautioning this youthful ſpeaker, if he thought proper to mention any name, to be prepared to prove what he ſhould aſſert," Mr. Potter replied, "that he was happy to find he had as yet been guilty of no irregularity, and that even the apprehenſion of it was groundleſs; for it was not within his intention to mention any individual. He did not think himſelf ſo ill a painter as to make it neceſſary for him to write the names of thoſe to whom his portraits belonged." It would, however, be injuſtice not to allow the Duke of Newcaſtle the merit of diſintereſtedneſs as to the emoluments of office, and of zeal for the general intereſts of his country.

* 1755.

lic

lic buildings, and many thouſand private houſes, were, in the ſpace of a few minutes, thrown down —the earth heaving, rocking, and, in many parts, rending aſunder, with incredible noiſe and violence. And this ſuperb city, after the final ceſſation of the concuſſions, preſented to the view of the aſtoniſhed ſpectator only an heap of ruins. The royal family were compelled to leave the palace with precipitation, and to retire into the neighbouring fields for ſafety; and ten thouſand of the inhabitants, as it was computed, were killed by the fall of the buildings, or ſwallowed up in the chaſms formed by the numerous and horrid diſpartings of the earth. A meſſage from the Throne informed the two Houſes of this dreadful calamity; and, by an act of generoſity and humanity which conferred the higheſt honor on the Parliament and nation, the ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds was inſtantly and unanimouſly voted for the uſe of the diſtreſſed inhabitants of that metropolis; and ſupplies to this amount in corn, flour, rice, and other neceſſaries, were ſhipped without delay for Portugal, and proved a moſt welcome and ſeaſonable relief. And his Moſt Faithful Majeſty expreſſed on this occaſion, in terms of the warmeſt emotion, his grateful acknowlegements to the Britiſh Crown and nation. Amidſt the millions and millions expended for the purpoſes of devaſtation and deſtruction, a vote of

this

this deſcription ſeems as a paradiſe blooming in the wild.

Early in the year 1756, Mr. Fox, the new Miniſter, received a letter from Mr. Rouillé, Secretary of State for foreign affairs in France, expoſtulating, in the name of his Sovereign, "upon the hoſtile inſtructions given by the King of England to General Braddock and Admiral Boſcawen, in direct contradiction to the amicable profeſſions of the Britiſh Court. He complained of the inſult offered to the French flag in the capture of two ſhips of war, and of the depredations on the French commerce, without any previous declaration of war, in contempt of the law of nations. He demanded therefore, in the name of the King his maſter, full and entire ſatisfaction for this atrocious violation of the dignity of his Crown, as well as a complete reparation for the injuries ſuſtained by his people." To this peremptory requiſition Mr. Fox replied with firmneſs and ſpirit, "that the King of England would willingly conſent to an equitable accommodation of differences, but would not comply with the demand of reſtitution as a preliminary condition, his Britannic Majeſty having taken no ſteps but ſuch as the hoſtilities previouſly committed by the French, and a regard to his own honor, and the rights of his Crown and People, rendered juſt and indiſpenſable." War being now conſidered on both ſides as virtually, though not actually, de-

clared, the French Court iſſued an order to ſeize all Britiſh veſſels in the French harbors, and began with great aſſiduity to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk. The naval preparations at Breſt were proſecuted with unremitting diligence; a vaſt number of tranſports were collected in the different ports in the channel, and numerous bodies of land forces were ſeen moving from all parts towards the coaſts of Normandy, Picardy, and Bretagne. About the cloſe of March, the King ſent a meſſage to Parliament, ſtating, "that he had received repeated and authentic advices that a deſign was actually formed by the French Court for the invaſion of Great Britain; that he had taken the proper precautions for putting the kingdom in a poſture of defence; that, in order farther to ſtrengthen himſelf, he had made a requiſition of the Heſſian troops which the Landgrave had, by the late treaty, agreed to furniſh." An addreſs was immediately preſented, thanking his Majeſty in warm terms for this ſeaſonable and prudent requiſition. And, in a few days, Mr. Fox, encouraged by the prevailing unanimity of the Houſe, moved a ſecond addreſs, "beſeeching his Majeſty that, for the more effectual defence of his kingdoms, and for the better ſecurity of the religion and liberties of his ſubjects, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to order twelve battalions of his Electoral troops to be forthwith embarked for England." This alſo was carried by a very great majority,

jority, and, in the courſe of the enſuing month, theſe troops actually arrived. Such was the conſternation excited throughout the kingdom by the idea of an invaſion, that theſe meaſures of the Miniſter were received with great and general applauſe; though it appeared, in the view of Europe at large, not leſs unaccountable than diſgraceful, that England ſhould, at the commencement of a foreign war, deem herſelf unequal to provide for her own internal ſafety; and ſhould have recourſe to the aid of foreign mercenaries for the protection of her laws and liberties, when none of the natural means of defence were wanting, when her naval force was confeſſedly far ſuperior to that of the enemy, and her armies were not engaged, as formerly, in fighting Quixotic battles on the Continent *. At the cloſe of the Seſſion, the Speaker, Mr. Onſlow, on preſenting the money-bills for the royal aſſent, addreſſed the King in a ſpeech replete with ſentiments ſo juſt and conſtitutional, expreſſed in language ſo bold and animated,

* Les François annoncèrent avec oſtentation qu'ils ſe preparoient à faire de leur côté une deſcente en Angleterre. Ils répandirent des troupes le long des côtes de la Bretagne, et de la Normandie: Ils firent conſtruire des bateaux plats pour tranſporter ces troupes, et aſſemblèrent quelques vaiſſeaux à Breſt. Ces démonſtrations épouvanterent les Anglois; il y eut des momens où cette nation qui paſſe pour ſi ſage, ſe crut perdue. Le Roi George afin de la raſſurer eut recours à des troupes Hanovriennes et Heſſoiſes. *Oeuvres de Frederic II. tom. 2.*

as to merit the moſt diſtinguiſhed regard. After ſpecifying the extent, and remarking the liberality, of the grants, exceeding thoſe of any former period, he declared, "that the COMMONS of ENGLAND hoped the ſword, ſo bravely drawn and ſo effectually ſupported, would be intruſted only in capable and honeſt hands: And that the naval ſtrength of Great Britain will do ſervice as much greater as it is exalted higher than ever before. His Majeſty's faithful Commons apprehended that the preſent critical juncture convinces that alliances on the Continent, as they are unnatural, ſo they muſt ever be prejudicial to the true intereſt of England; that there is no gratitude to be expected from, no dependence to be placed on, ſuch allies, who, ſupported as they have been, by the blood and treaſure of this kingdom, have taken the opportunity of the firſt proſpect of preſent profit to break through every tie. Not diſcouraged, however, by the ingratitude of allies, or the ambition of enemies, they have with pleaſure beheld the ſword drawn to vindicate the national honor and intereſt—proud to let all the world ſee that England is able to fight her own battles, and to ſtand by her own natural ſtrength. Though ever attached to his Majeſty's perſon, he declared, nevertheleſs, that there were circumſtances exiſting at which nothing but their confidence in his Majeſty's juſtice, and love to his people, could hinder them from being moſt ſeriouſly alarmed.

alarmed. Subſidies to foreign Princes, when already burdened with a debt ſcarce to be borne, cannot but be ſeverely felt—an army of foreign troops, a thing UNPRECEDENTED, UNHEARD-OF, UNKNOWN, brought into England, cannot but alarm. Still they had reliance upon his Majeſty, and hoped that their burdens might be lightened, their fears removed, as ſoon as poſſible; and, in the mean time, that the ſword of theſe FOREIGNERS ſhould not be entruſted a MOMENT out of his own hand to any other perſon whatſoever." The unanimous approval of the principles and ſentiments inculcated in this ſpirited addreſs reflects certainly great honor on the Houſe, and it is much to be regretted that they ſhould ever have been induced, *in practiſe*, to deviate from them. This ſpeech, however, diſcovers ſymptoms of democratic reſolution, which, had the liberties of the country been openly invaded, would have diſplayed itſelf in a manner fatal to miniſters, terrible to kings!

Whether the French ever ſeriouſly meditated a deſcent upon the Engliſh coaſt, remains, after all, extremely doubtful; and it appears highly probable, that the preparations which occaſioned this univerſal alarm were deſigned chiefly, or ſolely, as a veil to diſguiſe their real deſign of an attack upon the iſland of Minorca. And, while the attention of the Engliſh Miniſtry and nation was ſuperfluouſly occupied with the armaments of Breſt and Dun-

kirk, it ſeemed entirely to eſcape their notice, that a formidable fleet was, at the very ſame time, equipping at Toulon; till at length its deſtination becoming notorious, a ſquadron very incompetent to the purpoſes of the expedition was detached to the Mediterranean, under Admiral Byng, an officer of whom the public knew little more than that he was the ſon of the gallant and heroic Viſcount Torrington. This armament, conſiſting of ten ſhips of the line, afterwards joined by two or three others, ſailed from Spithead April 7, 1756, and, on the ſecond of May, the Admiral arrived at Gibraltar, where he was informed that the French fleet under M. de la Galiſſoniere, conſiſting of thirteen ſhips of the line and tranſports, on board of which were embarked fifteen thouſand land forces, had ſailed from Toulon on the tenth of April, with a view to a deſcent on the iſland of Minorca, and were now actually engaged in the ſiege of Fort St. Philip. On this intelligence, the Admiral tranſmitted diſpatches to England, written in a ſtyle of great apparent dejection, "lamenting that he was not ſent out in time to prevent the landing of the French; complaining of the bad condition of the ſhips, and of the total deficiency which he found at Gibraltar of all the neceſſary requiſites for careening and refitting. He ſignified his opinion of the impracticability of throwing any ſupply of troops into the fortreſs, and of the impolicy

licy of attempting it, if feaſible, as the ſiege could not be raiſed without the co-operation of a land-force, and any reinforcement of men would conſequently only increaſe the number of priſoners, which muſt ultimately fall into the hands of the enemy." This extraordinary letter being conſidered by the Miniſtry as a virtual accuſation of their negligence or incapacity, and as plainly ominous of the loſs of the place, they determined to convince the Admiral that ſuch language was not to be held with impunity. On approaching Minorca, the Admiral deſcried the Britiſh colors ſtill flying at the caſtle of St. Philip's: And, at the ſame time, the French fleet appearing to the ſouth-eaſt, he formed the line of battle, and, about two o'clock, threw out ſignals to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Admiral Weſt, who commanded the van diviſion, perceiving the inconſiſtency of the two orders, choſe to comply with the laſt, and bore away with his diviſion ſeven points from the wind, as abſolutely neceſſary to bring the enemy to a cloſe and regular engagement. Finding himſelf, however, not ſuſtained by his commander, he could not purſue the advantage he had gained without imminent danger of having his communication with the remainder of the fleet entirely cut off. When the Commander was exhorted by his Captain to bear down upon the enemy, in order to ſupport the ſhips of the van, Admiral Byng

coolly replied, that it was his determination to keep the line of battle entire; and that he would avoid the error of Admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the combined fleets of France and Spain off Toulon, had broke the line by his precipitation, and had expoſed himſelf by his raſhneſs to a fire which he could not ſuſtain. Under color, therefore, of preſerving the line of battle entire, in order to fight with the more advantage, it could ſcarcely be affirmed that he fought at all—the diſtance at which he engaged being ſo great that he received only ſome few ſhots in his hull, and not a ſingle man was killed or wounded on board the Admiral's own ſhip, a noble ſecond-rate of ninety guns. M. de la Galiſſoniere was well pleaſed to perceive the Britiſh Commander ſo little in earneſt, and, having no urgent reaſons on his part to wiſh for a continuance of the fight, he bore away under an eaſy ſail towards evening; and, though the Britiſh Admiral made the ſignal for chaſing, it ſo happened that the French were not overtaken, and, next morning, they were entirely out of ſight. On inquiry into the condition of the fleet after this engagement, it was found, that three of the principal ſhips were ſo much damaged in their maſts that they could not keep the ſea with ſafety, that about two hundred men were killed and wounded in the engagement, and many others diſabled by ſickneſs. The Admiral repreſented

ſented to a council of war, held on the occaſion, that his ſquadron was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; and that they had alſo the advantage of ſending their ſick and wounded to Minorca, from whence they received continual ſupplies and reinforcements; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve the caſtle of St. Philip, and that they ought, therefore, to make the beſt of their way back to Gibraltar, to refit, and wait for farther orders from England. The deſpondency of a Commander is ever contagious; and, though no effort whatever had been made to accompliſh the object of their deſtination, the council concurred unanimouſly in theſe ſentiments, and the fleet immediately ſet ſail for Gibraltar, the French returning to their former ſtation off Mahon.

When the official diſpatches of the Admiral arrived in England, the Miniſtry, fully prepared for intelligence of this nature, and preſuming that the ſequel of the hiſtory would correſpond with the prelude, commiſſioned, without delay, Admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean; and, at the ſame time, orders were given to ſend home Admiral Byng in arreſt; and, on his arrival in England, he was committed cloſe priſoner to Greenwich hoſpital.

Notwithſtanding that the garriſon of St. Philip had reaſon to conſider themſelves as abandoned to their fate, a very gallant defence was made by General

neral Blakeney, the Governor, from the middle of April to the beginning of July, when no intelligence being received from England, and no proſpect of relief diſcernible, the works, and even the body of the caſtle being much ſhattered, the embraſures and parapets demoliſhed, many cannon diſmounted, and a lodgment actually made by the enemy on one of the principal redoubts, the garriſon alſo being exhauſted with hard and inceſſant duty, it was reſolved to beat the *chamade*, and a very favorable capitulation was granted by the Duc de Richelieu, the French Commander, the garriſon being permitted to march out with all the honors of war, and with the liberty of a free and unmoleſted conveyance to Gibraltar. In a few days after the ſurrender of the iſland, Admiral Hawke appeared in view, with a fleet much ſuperior to that of the French; but M. de la Galiſſoniere had ſeaſonably retired: And the Engliſh Admiral ſeeing the French colors flying on the caſtle of St. Philip, this gallant officer found every effort precluded; and indeed, had he arrived previous to the ſurrender, there was little probability of his being able, even by an abſolute defeat of the French ſquadron, to effect its relief.

This conqueſt was celebrated in France with great triumph and rejoicings; while, in England, it produced a degree of depreſſion much more than proportionate to the real magnitude and importance of the loſs ſuſtained. This depreſſion was accompanied

panied with a prevailing emotion of reſentment, and even of rage, againſt the unfortunate Admiral Byng, which could ſcarcely have been exceeded had he, by his criminal miſconduct, ſacrificed half the navy of Great Britain. In the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, an inquiry was inſtituted in the Houſe of Commons into the cauſes of the loſs of the iſland of Minorca; and the Houſe having addreſſed his Majeſty for copies of all letters and inſtructions relative to this ſubject, ſuch a prodigious maſs of papers was produced as ſeemed rather calculated to overwhelm and ſtifle, than to explain and elucidate the object of this inveſtigation. After a looſe and curſory examination of theſe *documents*, which it would have been the buſineſs of a Seſſion to methodiſe and digeſt, the Houſe reſolved, "1. That, from the intelligence repeatedly received by his Majeſty's Miniſters, there was juſt reaſon to believe that an invaſion of Great Britain or Ireland was actually intended by the French King; and, 2. That no greater number of ſhips of war could, with ſafety to his Majeſty's dominions and the intereſt of his ſubjects, be ſent to the Mediterranean than were actually ſent thither under the command of Admiral Byng." Theſe reſolutions were evidently dictated by the ſpirit of reſentment or prejudice, and ſeemed conſtructed ſolely for the exculpation of the Miniſters: Though it ſtill appeared abſolutely incomprehenſible to all impartial

impartial cenſors that, with more than one hundred and fifty ſhips of war in commiſſion, ſo ſmall a force only could be ſpared for ſo great a ſervice. It is certain that Mr. Fox was deſirous to have detached a ſtrong ſquadron to the Mediterranean the firſt week in March, but could not prevail over the fears of the Duke of Newcaſtle, and the preſumption of Lord Anſon, who aſſured him that Byng's ſquadron would beat any thing that the French had or could have in the Mediterranean. After the loſs of the iſland, the Duke of Newcaſtle eagerly affirmed to Mr. Fox, "that no blame could reſt, or be thought to reſt, upon him; that the ſea was not his province; and that the nation and the Houſe of Commons were well ſatisfied with his conduct. Mr. Fox replied, that thoſe who had the chief direction in an adminiſtration would bear the greateſt ſhare of the blame; and that thoſe people deceived him who told him it was otherwiſe *now*. He had, indeed, defended his Grace in the Houſe of Commons in every thing where he could defend him, but in one thing he never could, which was in his not believing it muſt be war, and in not arming ſooner *."

The clamors of the people for juſtice ſtill continuing, the trial of Admiral Byng commenced December 28, 1756, before a court-martial held on

* Lord Melcombe.

board

board the ſhip St. George, in the harbor of Portſmouth. And, after a long inveſtigation of evidence, the Court determined that the Admiral, during the engagement on the twentieth of May laſt, did not do his utmoſt endeavor to take, ſeize, and deſtroy, the ſhips of the French King; and that he did not exert his utmoſt power for the relief of the caſtle of St. Philip—they, therefore, unanimouſly agreed, "that he fell under the letter of the twelfth article of the Naval Code, which, for this offence, poſitively preſcribes *death*, without any alternative left to the diſcretion of the court. But, believing his miſconduct to ariſe neither from cowardice nor diſaffection, they earneſtly recommended him as a proper object of mercy." The Admiral heard his doom pronounced without the leaſt alteration of countenance or feature; and, with a low obeiſance to the court, retired in dignified ſilence. Great intereſt was made from various quarters to obtain a remiſſion of the ſentence, but without effect; and a warrant was iſſued by the Lords of the Admiralty for the execution of the Admiral on the fourteenth of March 1757. During this interval he remained on board the Monarque in cuſtody of the Marſhal of the Admiralty, and was at no time perceived to loſe his compoſure or cheerfulneſs. About noon on the day appointed, the Admiral having taken the laſt farewel of his friends, advanced with a firm ſtep and ſerene aſpect from the

the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where a guard of marines awaited to execute the ſentence; and kneeling, without any pauſe or delay, on a cuſhion provided for the purpoſe, he tied with his own hands a white handkerchief over his eyes, and immediately dropped another as a ſignal for the executioners, and five balls paſſed inſtantly through his body—the whole of this ſtriking ſcene, from his leaving the cabin, being over, and the Admiral depoſited on his bier, in the ſpace of about three minutes. On a general review of this melancholy cataſtrophe, and of the cauſes by which it was produced, the fate of Admiral Byng muſt be pronounced beyond all example ſevere and rigorous. Deſtined to execute a commiſſion hopeleſs and impracticable, or at leaſt not to be effected without the moſt deſperate efforts of courage, he ſuffered his mind to be too ſtrongly impreſſed with the difficulties of his ſituation, and though poſſeſſed, probably, of a degree of calm reſolution which would have ſecured his character from imputation upon occaſions which required no extraordinary exertion, he was doubtleſs totally and conſtitutionally incapable of that heroic and ardent enthuſiaſm which kindles at the view of danger, which is inflamed with the thirſt of glory, and which, if it cannot command ſucceſs, is at leaſt ambitious to convince the world that it has left nothing uneſſayed in order to deſerve it. Firmly perſuaded that the

object

object of his enterprise was unattainable, this officer appears to have sunk under his accumulated embarrassments, and appeared to his friends perhaps, on a retrospective view of this transaction, to fall as much below the usual level of his character, as it was necessary, in such circumstances, to rise above it. The fortitude of his conduct during the trial, and previous to the execution, sufficiently rescue his memory from the vile and indelible taint of cowardice; And, in a paper which he delivered immediately before his death to the Marshal of the Admiralty, he declares the satisfaction he felt in the consciousness of having faithfully discharged his duty to the utmost of his judgment and ability; and he styles himself, not without some appearance of reason, "a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people."

Notwithstanding the sacrifice of this victim, the nation exhibited symptoms of the highest dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Administration under whose guidance and government nothing but disgraces and disasters had happened. The prospect of a German war for the protection of Hanover was odious to the majority of the people; the defeat of Braddock, and the subsequent losses in America, were the subject of equal astonishment and indignation, and the recent capture of Minorca threw the kingdom into a paroxysm of rage, as the apprehension of an invasion had before done into that

that of terror. And though the Miniſtry, in calling in the aſſiſtance of the Heſſian and Hanoverian auxiliaries, had acted with the general approbation, and even applauſe, their conduct, now the danger had paſſed over, was ſtigmatized as the effect of a ridiculous and reproachful timidity, if not rather of abſolute treachery. It was ſuggeſted that the kingdom had been left purpoſely unprovided, and that the natives of South Britain had been formerly ſubdued by auxiliaries of the ſame country, hired, like theſe, for their defence and protection. And the public ſuſpicion and hatred of theſe foreign mercenaries roſe to ſuch an height, that the modeſt, orderly, and inoffenſive behaviour only, by which they were diſtinguiſhed, could, we are aſſured, have ſecured them from acts of outrage. War had been declared in form by Great Britain againſt France in May 1756, and, in the following month, by France againſt Great Britain: And much pains were taken in the manifeſto publiſhed by the latter, to contraſt the moderation and equity of the Court of Verſailles with the intemperate violence of the Court of London, and particularly ſtigmatizing the ſeizures of the French ſhips of war and commerce, before a declaration of war, as piracy and perfidy. And it muſt be acknowleged, that no very ſolid or ſatisfactory reaſon has been aſſigned for delaying the declaration on the part of England, when hoſtilities were not only reſolved upon but actually

commenced. The Duke of Newcaſtle and Mr. Fox, now at the head of the Adminiſtration, finding the tide of popularity and opinion ſet ſtrongly againſt them, dreaded with reaſon the approaching meeting of Parliament, and determined, by a timely reſignation, to avert the diſgrace and danger attending a compulſive diſmiſſion. In November 1756, Mr. Pitt was appointed principal Secretary of State; Mr. Legge reinſtated in his poſt of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which had been occupied during his ſeceſſion by Sir George, afterwards Lord Lyttelton; and the Duke of Devonſhire was nominated to the high office of Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury. On the ſecond of December, the Seſſion was opened by a very animated ſpeech from the throne, in which his Majeſty expreſſed his confidence "that the union, fortitude, and affection, of his people would, under the guidance of the divine Providence, enable him to ſurmount every difficulty, and vindicate the dignity of his Crown againſt the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared, that the recent loſſes in America demanded reſolutions of vigor and diſpatch: And that he had nothing ſo much at heart as to remove all grounds of diſſatisfaction from his people; for this end, he had remanded the foreign troops which had been brought hither at the deſire of Parliament; and recommended the framing of a national militia, relying with pleaſure on the

ſpirit and zeal of his people in defence of his perſon and realm. He took notice of the unnatural union of counſels abroad, threatening the ſubverſion of the Empire, and of the *proteſtant intereſt* on the Continent; concluding with profeſſions of his unwearied care and unceaſing endeavors to promote the glory and happineſs of his people." Soon after the commencement of the Seſſion, Mr. Pitt, now regarded as firſt Miniſter, delivered to the Houſe a meſſage from the King, importing, "that as the formidable preparations, and vindictive deſigns, of France, were evidently bent againſt his Majeſty's Electoral dominions, and the territories of his *good ally* the King of Pruſſia, his Majeſty confided in the zeal and affection of his faithful Commons to aſſiſt him in forming and maintaining an army of obſervation for the juſt and neceſſary defence of the ſame, and to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Pruſſian Majeſty, for the ſecurity of the Empire, and the ſupport of their common intereſts." Notwithſtanding the great popularity of the preſent Adminiſtration, ſuſtained by the ſuperior talents and general integrity of the Miniſters, there were not wanting thoſe in the Houſe of Commons who forcibly urged the contraſt between this recommendation, and the former eloquent reaſonings and invectives of the Miniſter againſt the whole fatal ſyſtem of Continental connection; the inexpreſſible folly and madneſs of which appeared in the

the moſt ſtriking point of view at the preſent criſis, when, after all the millions expended, and the legions ſacrificed to the preſervation of a chimerical balance of power, with which the ſafety of England was ſuppoſed, or pretended, to be connected, we were left deſtitute of an ally, excepting a Prince ſo embarraſſed in his own affairs, that, far from being able to grant aſſiſtance to us, he would certainly need to be ſupported by us. England, they aſſerted, was under no obligation, either of intereſt or duty, to exhauſt her treaſure and her blood in the defence of Hanover. That Electorate was ſufficiently ſecured in common with the other Electorates, Principalities, and Co-eſtates, of the Germanic Body, by the Conſtitutions of the Empire. It was not to be imagined, that the Princes of the Empire, or even that Auſtria itſelf, notwithſtanding her recent and forced alliance with France, would ſuffer ſo formidable a power to acquire a permanent eſtabliſhment in Germany; that, if any reluctance appeared to engage in the defence of a cauſe in which they had an immediate and common intereſt, it aroſe entirely from the firmneſs of their perſuaſion, that the interpoſition of England would render all interference on their part ſuperfluous. It was boldly affirmed, that the whole of the public debt contracted ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover, was incurred in purſuance of meaſures totally foreign to the intereſts of theſe kingdoms:

And that if Hanover muſt at all events become the object of the ſolicitude of Great Britain, it would be infinitely better that France ſhould be allowed to acquire and retain peaceable poſſeſſion of the Electorate during the continuance of the war, and to indemnify the inhabitants for the loſſes and ſufferings which they might incur at the concluſion of it, than to maintain vaſt armies at an immenſe expenſe for its defence and ſecurity, of which, after all, it remained extremely problematic whether we were equal to the accompliſhment." The meſſage, nevertheleſs, was received by the Houſe with loyal approbation, and the ſupplies granted to the utmoſt extent demanded by the Miniſter. It was, however, ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the meaſure thus coldly recommended, or rather ſtated to the Houſe, had been previouſly objected againſt in the cabinet; and, in a ſhort time, it could no longer be concealed that the new Adminiſtration was agitated by a great internal convulſion; and that the favorite project of the King for ſtrengthening the army in Germany with large reinforcements of troops from England was not aſſented to by the patriot miniſters Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge. His Majeſty, irritated by the pertinacity of their oppoſition, at length reſolved upon an effort to relieve himſelf from this unwelcome and imperious control; and, in April 1757, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were ſuddenly diſmiſſed from their offices; the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer

Exchequer being conſigned, *pro tempore*, to the Chief Juſtice of England. And Mr. Fox, again deſtined to take the lead in affairs, and inveſted with full and unlimited powers, had made propoſals to his former coadjutor, the Duke of Newcaſtle, to reſume his ſtation at the head of the Treaſury. But his Grace, doubting the ſtability of the new arrangement, thought it expedient to demur; and, in the mean time, commenced a ſecret negotiation with the Ex-Miniſters, and, after an interregnum of ſome weeks agitated by the violence of political conflict and cabal, joined them openly with all his powerful connections. The alarm of the nation at the diſmiſſion of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge is ſcarcely conceivable. Numberleſs addreſſes from all parts were preſented to his Majeſty, beſeeching him to reinſtate theſe Miniſters in their employments. The principal cities and corporations in the kingdom preſented them with the freedom of their reſpective guilds in golden boxes. Party ſpirit ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, for all voices, without one diſſonant murmur, were now united in their praiſe. Mr. Fox, perceiving it impoſſible to ſtem the torrent, wiſely counſelled the Monarch to yield, without reſiſtance, to the wiſhes of the people. And, in June, Mr. Pitt reſumed the Seals of Secretary of State, Mr. Legge and the Duke of Newcaſtle their former ſtations at the Board of Treaſury, Lord Anſon was placed at

the head of the Admiralty, Sir Robert Henley appointed Keeper of the Great Seal in the room of Lord Hardwicke, and Mr. Fox himſelf, acceding to the new order of things, was gratified with the lucrative office of Paymaſter-General of the army*.

In

* "Public matters, ſays Lord Cheſterfield in a letter to his friend Mr. Dayrolles, February 1757, have been, and are ſtill, too undecypherable for me to underſtand, conſequently to relate. Fox, out of place, taking the lead in the Houſe of Commons, Pitt, Secretary of State, declares that he is no Miniſter, and has no Miniſterial influence. The Duke of Newcaſtle and Lord Hardwicke lie by and declare themſelves for neither party.—April 1757, Our public ſituation is now, perhaps, more ridiculous and unaccountable than ever. Two poſts which were once thought conſiderable ones, which uſed to be ſolicited by many, and wiſhed for by more, I mean thoſe of Secretary of State and Chancellor of the Exchequer, have been proffered about to a degree of profuſion, and yet refuſed. The late poſſeſſors of them were moſt imprudently turned out before the end of the Seſſion, and are thereby become not only the moſt, but, perhaps, the only two, popular men now in this kingdom.—July 1757, After many negotiations, breakings off, and recommencements, things are at laſt fixed. About three weeks ago, Fox was in a manner declared Miniſter, to the excluſion of the Duke of Newcaſtle and Pitt, and the Seals of the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer were to have been given to him the next day. Upon this Holderneſs reſigned; the Duke of Rutland, and ſome others, declared their intentions of following his example, and many refuſed the places that were offered them by Fox as the firſt Miniſter for thoſe two or three days. Upon theſe diſcouragements, Fox went to the King, and told him, that it was impoſſible for him, in ſuch a ſituation, to undertake the

In conſequence of this general coalition of parties, all oppoſition in Parliament ſeemed annihilated, and Mr. Pitt, to whom the entire direction of the war was now entruſted, had free and full ſcope to exert his utmoſt ability in the ſervice of his country. The events, however, which marked the commencement of his adminiſtration were by no means fortunate. A formidable armament, equipped with incredible diligence, ſailed from the harbor of Portſmouth the beginning of September, conſiſting of eighteen ſhips of the line, and a large body of land forces, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir John Mordaunt. When Mr. Pitt ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the period for its being at the place of rendezvous, Lord Anſon ſaid it was impoſſible to comply with the requiſition: But Mr. Pitt, with great warmth, replied, "That it might be done; and, if the ſhips were not ready at the time ſpecified, he ſhould ſignify his neglect to the King, and *impeach* his Lordſhip in the Houſe of Commons." The menace produced its effect, and, on the twenty-third of the ſame month, the fleet anchored off the river Charente with a view to attempt the reduction of the city of Rochefort. Many days paſſed in ſounding the river, in reconnoitring the coaſts, in

the management of affairs. The King hereupon, though very unwillingly, ſent for the Duke of Newcaſtle again, and at laſt, after a thouſand difficulties, things are as you have ſeen in the papers."—*Lord Cheſterfield's Miſcellaneous Works.*

removing the troops from the tranſports to the boats, and the boats to the tranſports; and in deliberations upon the intent and practicability of the inſtructions under which they were to act. At length it was concluded to *riſque an attack* upon the iſle of Aix, ſituated in the mouth of the Charente, and defended by a ſmall fort and garriſon; and this ſervice, equal in importance to that of picking up ſhells on the ſhore, being performed, and the works demoliſhed, a council of war was held, in which it was reſolved, agreably to that ſpirit of *quietiſm* by which it has been obſerved that councils of war are in general diſtinguiſhed *, to return without delay to England. Great expectations having been entertained of the event of this expedition, the nation was proportionably diſappointed, and enraged at its failure: And the public cenſure was directed chiefly, if not ſolely, againſt the General, it being admitted that the Miniſter had left nothing undone to enſure the ſucceſs of it, and that the Admiral had acted in no reſpect inconſiſtently with his high character for judgment and ſpirit. It was ſaid that the inactivity and timi-

* Lord Clive declared to the Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry, inſtituted A. D. 1773, "that he never called a Council of war but once, which was previous to his paſſing the Ganges on his famous expedition to Moorſhedabad; and, if he had then followed the deciſion of the council, the Company had been undone."

dity

dity of Sir John Mordaunt were leſs pardonable than the raſhneſs and preſumption of General Braddock, who, if he failed to attain his object, had at leaſt ſuſtained the national reputation by his courage; and ſo high did the clamor ariſe, that it was thought neceſſary to inſtitute a court-martial for the trial of this Commander, by whom he was, to the amazement of the public, unanimouſly acquitted: And the ſentence was univerſally contraſted with that of the former court, which had condemned an Admiral to death for not doing his *utmoſt*; whereas a General was now acquitted, though it was univerſally acknowledged that he had done *nothing*. But the failure of the enterpriſe againſt Rochefort, however it might excite the chagrin of the public, was of little eſtimation or importance in the view of the Court, when compared with the diſaſters which had befallen the army of obſervation in Germany. Early in the ſpring (1757) his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland had embarked for Hanover, in order to take upon him the command of the confederate troops, now, in conſequence of the recent junction of the Pruſſians, amounting to about fifty thouſand men. Mareſchal D'Etrees, the French Commander, an officer of great ability, advancing from the banks of the Rhine, the paſſage of which the King of Pruſſia in vain urged the Duke to defend, the confederate army was compelled to retire beyond

yond the Weſer: And the French General having paſſed this river alſo without oppoſition, attacked the Duke in his camp at Haſtenbeck, July 25; and, while the battle was yet doubtful, the Engliſh Commander, from a defect, not of courage, but of military ſkill and judgment, is charged with giving orders for ſounding a retreat. A redoubt in centre of the allied army having been carried by the French, it was inſtantly retaken, ſword in hand, by the Hereditary Prince of Brunſwick, "who by this *coup d'eſſai* diſcovered, ſays the King of Pruſſia, that nature had deſtined him for a hero." The Duke being ſtill preſſed by the French army, retreated firſt to Nienburg, then to Verden, and at length to Stade. The Mareſchal D'Etrees, regarding with a watchful and penetrating eye the motions of the Duke, when urged to embrace a favorable moment of attack, replied that there was no occaſion for fighting. And, in fact, his Royal Highneſs was quickly reduced, as the Mareſchal foreſaw, to a moſt diſtreſſing dilemma. In front his farther march was arreſted by the German ocean; on the right and left he was incloſed by the rivers Elbe and Weſer; and the French having taken poſſeſſion of the paſſes as the confederate army receded, the Duke had no option remaining but to ſubmit to terms of capitulation, which were ſigned, under the mediation of Denmark, in the month of September (1757), at Cloiſter-

Cloiſter-Seven, by which the Electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French; and the whole confederate army, amounting to about forty thouſand Heſſians, Hanoverians, and Brunſwickers, were diſarmed and diſbanded—the King of Pruſſia having previouſly withdrawn his troops, from the apprehenſion of this cataſtrophe. On his return to England, the Duke of Cumberland not receiving thoſe marks of gratitude and acknowlegement which he thought due to his eminent ſervices, reſigned all his military employments in high diſguſt, and henceforth took no farther public part in any civil or military tranſaction. The inglorious convention of Cloiſter-Seven ſeemed as it were the criſis of the war; and England was now reduced to that extreme point of depreſſion from which ſhe was deſtined, in gradual retroceſſion, to attain to a height of elevation unknown to the moſt brilliant æras of her former hiſtory.

After the unſucceſsful campaign of 1757 in America, the Earl of Loudon returned to England, leaving the chief command in the hands of General Abercrombie, from whom it quickly devolved to Major-General, now Lord Amherſt, who, on the arrival of Admiral Boſcawen from England, early in the year 1758, with very powerful reinforcements, concerted with General Abercrombie a plan of ſpirited and active operations for the enſuing campaign. The troops now aſſembled, both regulars

lars and provincials, amounted to no leſs than fifty thouſand men, a military force to which the new world had ſeen nothing comparable; and much too great to be employed on any ſingle object. The garriſon of Louiſburg being greatly reduced in conſequence of the perfect ſecurity it was ſuppoſed to enjoy after the abandonment of the expedition of the laſt ſummer, it was reſolved to renew the attempt. And General Amherſt, with twelve thouſand men, being convoyed by the fleet under Admiral Boſcawen, anchored June 2, in ſight of the fortreſs, which, in a few days, was formally inveſted. The approaches were made with great ſkill and circumſpection; and the Chevalier Drucourt, the Governor, ſeeing no proſpect of relief, aſſented to a capitulation on the twenty-ſeventh of July. Excluſive of the city of Louiſburg and the whole iſland of Cape Breton, ſix ſhips of the line and five frigates, which were ſtationed in the harbor for the protection of the place, were either deſtroyed or taken by the Engliſh. General Abercrombie himſelf undertook, at the head of a ſtill greater force, to reduce the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain. The firſt attempted was Ticonderago, a fortreſs which commands the communication between the two lakes, ſurrounded on three ſides with water, and, in front, ſecured by a moraſs, and farther defended, upon this emergency, with a breaſt-work, entrenchments, and

and *abbatis*. The General, however, determined upon an aſſault; but met with a ſevere repulſe, and was compelled to retreat with the loſs of one thouſand eight hundred men; with which diſaſter he was ſo much diſpirited, that he immediately reimbarked his troops, though ſtill much ſuperior in force to the enemy, and returned to the camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure.

An event ſtill the ſubject of tender recollection and regret in America, took place on this occaſion in the death of Lord Howe, a young Nobleman who combined the moſt amiable manners with the moſt ſhining talents and the moſt heroic courage. His memory was honored by a vote of the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſets for the erection of a ſuperb cenotaph, at the expenſe of the province, amongſt the heroes and patriots of Britain, in the collegiate church of Weſtminſter.

A conſiderable corps, however, detached by General Abercrombie, under Colonel Bradſtreet, againſt Fort Frontenac, ſituated on the northern bank of the river St. Laurence, at the preciſe point of its departure from Lake Ontario, reduced this important poſt with little loſs. And Brigadier Forbes, who was deſtined to command the expedition againſt Fort du Queſne, on the Ohio, finding it, on his arrival, diſmantled and abandoned, immediately repaired and garriſoned the fort, changing

changing its name, in compliment to the Miniſter, to Pittſburgh. And, in October, peace was eſtabliſhed by a formal treaty between Great Britain and the Indian nations inhabiting the rich and fertile plains between the Lakes and the Ohio. At the grand conference which preceded this treaty, the following oration, not unworthy of hiſtoric notice, was addreſſed to the Engliſh Commiſſioners by one of the Sachems, delegated to conduct this negotiation on the part of the Indians: "Brethren—I have raiſed my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees, and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. Brethren, the cauſe why the Indians of Ohio left you was owing to yourſelves. The Governor of Virginia ſettled in our lands, and diſregarded our meſſages: But, when the French came to us, they traded with our people, uſed them kindly, and gained their affections. Our couſins the Miniſinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and puſhed back by the Engliſh, ſettling ſo faſt upon them as not to know whether they have any lands remaining in ſurety. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild animals of the foreſts, and will not let us come on your lands ſo much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel the bark of a ſingle tree to cover our cabins—ſurely this is hard! Our fathers, when they ſold the land, did not purpoſe to deprive themſelves of hunting

the wild deer, or uſing a branch of wood. Brethren, we have already acquainted you with our grievances; and we have referred our cauſe to the great king. I deſire to know if King GEORGE has yet decided this matter, and whether juſtice will be done to the Miniſinks?"

Governor Bernard, in return, aſſured them that full ſatisfaction ſhould be given to the Miniſinks; and Governor Denny delivering to the Chief a belt and ſtring of *wampum*, declared "the ancient union of the Britiſh and Indian nations to be renewed and confirmed, and that freſh earth was put to the roots of the tree of peace, in order that it may bear up againſt every ſtorm, and flouriſh as long as the ſun ſhines, and the rivers continue to flow."

Theſe events ſufficiently indicated that the fortune of the war had at length changed, and the French, who had been hitherto the aſſailants, now ſaw the neceſſity of concentrating their force, in order to defend themſelves from future attack and invaſion. General Amherſt, who poſſeſſed in an high degree the ſpirit of military enterprize, had, on aſſuming the chief command, formed a project, which would doubtleſs have appeared romantic and impracticable to his predeceſſors, for the entire conqueſt of Canada in one campaign.

For the accompliſhment of this grand ſcheme, Brigadier-General Wolfe, an officer who had diſtinguiſhed

tinguiſhed himſelf, in a very remarkable manner, at late the ſiege of Louiſburg, was directed, as ſoon as the navigation of the St. Laurence ſhould be clear of ice, to proceed with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips of war, and a large body of land-forces, to undertake the ſiege of Quebec, the capital of French America. General Amherſt, in perſon, propoſed, with the principal army, to reduce the forts of Ticonderago and Crown Point; to croſs the lake Champlain, and, marching along the river Richelieu, and the ſouthern banks of the St. Laurence, to join General Wolfe under the walls of Quebec. Laſtly, Brigadier-General Prideaux, with another ſeparate corps, reinforced by a numerous body of Indians, aſſembled and conducted by the influence and authority of Sir William Johnſon, was deſtined to inveſt the important poſt and fortreſs of Niagara, which commanded the navigation of the lakes, and the communication of the rivers St. Laurence and Miſſiſippi. After the reduction of Niagara, the forces were ordered to be embarked on the Lake Ontario, and proceeding down the river St. Laurence, to undertake the ſiege of Montreal, the ſecond city of Canada, and then to join the grand army before Quebec. It is ſcarcely to be imagined that ſo magnificent and daring a project ſhould, in the execution, prove completely ſucceſsful in all its parts. It was however doubtleſs the conception of a great military genius;

genius; and the final reſult of this plan forms the higheſt eulogium which can be beſtowed upon it.

General Amherſt, in the month of July, arrived at Ticonderago, which at firſt the enemy ſeemed preparing reſolutely to defend: But, in the night of the 27th, they ſuddenly and unaccountably abandoned this ſtrong and hitherto impregnable poſt, and retired to Crown Point. The General, after giving the neceſſary orders for the ſecurity of the fortreſs, embarked with the army, and reached Crown Point on the 4th of Auguſt; but by this time Crown Point alſo was evacuated, and the Engliſh commander was informed that the French had retired to the Iſle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of the lake Champlain, where they were reported to be encamped in force. The General, after making the moſt vigorous and indefatigable exertions to ſecure a naval ſuperiority on the lake, again embarked his troops, in order to proceed to the attack of Iſle aux Noix: But a continued ſucceſſion of ſtorms and tempeſts compelled him to deſiſt from the proſecution of his deſign, and he returned to Crown Point, in the vicinity of which he took up his winter-quarters, in order to facilitate the early commencement of the enſuing campaign. Here he had the ſatisfaction to learn that the expedition againſt Niagara had terminated happily; for though General Prideaux was unfortunately ſlain by the burſting of a ſhell in viſiting the trenches,

General Johnſon, who ſucceeded to the command, after defeating a body of forces which attempted the relief of the fort, had become maſter of it by capitulation, July 25; the projected deſign againſt Montreal, in conſequence of various combining obſtacles, nevertheleſs remaining for the preſent ſuſpended.

But by far the moſt difficult and dangerous branch of the plan originally concerted, was allotted to General Wolfe, whoſe riſing talents and reputation now began to excite univerſal attention. On the 26th of June, the armament deſtined for the invaſion of Canada, arrived at the iſland of Orleans, formed by the branches of the river St. Laurence, and extending to the baſon of Quebec. This metropolis is ſituated at the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles. The fortifications are ſtrong, and the city elegant and extenſive. It conſiſts of an upper and a lower town; the lower town is built upon the ſtrand, which ſtretches along the baſe of the lofty rock on which the upper town is ſituated. This rock continues with a bold and ſteep front far to the weſtward, parallel to the river St. Laurence. On this ſide, therefore, the city might well be deemed abſolutely inacceſſible. On the other, it was protected by the river St. Charles, the channel of which is rough and broken, and its borders interſected with ravines. On the left bank of this river the French army,

army, amounting to about 10,000 men, under the command of M. de Montcalm, were poſted; the encampment extending to the river of Montmorenci to the eaſt, and their rear was covered with impenetrable woods.

The Engliſh General, perfectly ſenſible that unleſs the enemy could be brought to a deciſive engagement, his enterprize muſt prove abortive, reſolved, after ſome feints, in vain made to induce his able and cautious antagoniſt to relinquiſh this advantageous poſt, to attack the French in their entrenchments, near the falls of Montmorenci. On the laſt day of July, diſpoſitions being made for a general aſſault, the troops were landed under the cover of the cannon of the ſhips of war; but, notwithſtanding the expreſs orders given, not to march forward till the whole army was formed, the Engliſh grenadiers ruſhing to the attack with irregular impetuoſity, were ſoon thrown into confuſion by the enemy's fire, and ſuffered very ſeverely in the retreat. The General advancing in perſon with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army; but the plan of attack was effectually diſconcerted; and the Engliſh commander was compelled to give orders for repaſſing the river to the iſland of Orleans, which was effected not without conſiderable loſs.

At this period the General tranſmitted diſ-

patches to England, penned with remarkable perſpicuity and elegance, but in a tone of depreſſion which demonſtrated a perfect ſenſe of the embarraſſments of his ſituation. "We have, ſaid he, almoſt the whole force of Canada to oppoſe. In ſuch a choice of difficulties I own myſelf at a loſs how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain, I know, require the moſt vigorous meaſures; but the courage of a handful of brave men ſhould be exerted only where there is ſome hope of a favourable event *."

The diſaſter of Montmorenci made a deep impreſſion on the lofty and ſuſceptible mind of the Engliſh General. He was obſerved often to ſigh; and, to his intimate friends, he declared his determination to die rather than endure the cenſure and reproach which invariably attend the want of ſucceſs. An effort tranſcendently bold, and approaching in other circumſtances to raſhneſs and deſperation, yet remained to be tried. A plan

* Though the *diſappointment* of General Wolfe muſt have been inexpreſſibly great, at the failure of the concerted plan of co-operation on the part of General Amherſt; yet it is highly pleaſing to obſerve, that throughout this celebrated letter, not a ſymptom is to be found, of *diſſatisfaction* at the conduct of that commander, whoſe utmoſt exertions General Wolfe was well aſſured would not be wanting to its accompliſhment. The whole exhibits a picture of gloomy grandeur, of a mind revolving and meditating deſigns, of the temerity of which it is perfectly conſcious.

was

was formed, in concert with the naval commander Admiral Saunders, for landing the troops on the northern bank of the river, above the city, and by ſcaling the heights, hitherto ſuppoſed inacceſſible, to gain poſſeſſion of the grounds at the back of the town, where it was but ſlightly fortified. The Admiral, in order to deceive the enemy, moved up the river ſeveral leagues beyond the ſpot fixed upon for the landing; but, during the night, he fell down with the ſtream, in order to protect the diſembarkment of the troops, which was happily accompliſhed in ſecreſy and ſilence. The precipice now remained to be aſcended; and, with infinite labor and difficulty, the troops ſuſtaining themſelves by the rugged projections of the rock, and the branches of the trees and plants which ſprang from the innumerable clefts into which it was every-where broken, they at laſt attained the ſummit, and immediately formed in order of battle. The intelligence being quickly conveyed to M. de Montcalm that the Engliſh army was in actual poſſeſſion of the heights of Abraham, that commander declared himſelf unable to expreſs his aſtoniſhment, and immediately comprehended the neceſſity of riſquing an engagement, in order to ſave the city.

Abandoning, therefore, his ſtrong camp of Montmorenci, he paſſed the river St. Charles, and advanced to the attack of the Engliſh army, with

great intrepidity. A very warm engagement enſued, and General Wolfe, who ſtood conſpicuous in the front of the line, received a ſhot in the wriſt, which, wrapping a handkerchief around it, he ſeemed not to notice, and continued giving orders without the leaſt emotion. But advancing at the head of the grenadiers, another ball pierced his breaſt, and compelled him to retire to a ſpot a little diſtant from the field of action, where he expreſſed the moſt eager anxiety to learn the fate of the battle. He was, after an interval of ſuſpenſe, told that the enemy were viſibly broken: And reclining, from extreme faintneſs, his head on the arm of an officer ſtanding near him, he was in a ſhort time arouſed with the diſtant ſound of They fly! they fly!—"Who fly?" exclaimed the dying hero—on being told "the French,"—"Then, ſaid he, I depart content," and almoſt immediately expired in the arms of victory. A death more glorious, and attended with circumſtances more pictureſque and intereſting, is no-where to be found in the annals of hiſtory. The death of Epaminondas only, to which that of Wolfe has frequently been compared, ſeems to diſpute the pre-eminence *.

The

* Sic certus hoſtes terga dare in fugam
Thebanus Heros "extrahe telum" ait:
Vultuque ſubridens amœno
Magnam animam exhilaratus efflat.

Ambo

The Generals Monckton and Townſhend, after the loſs of their commander, continued the fight with unabating ardor; and M. de Montcalm, the French commander, receiving a mortal wound, the French gave way on all ſides, and a moſt complete victory was gained, at a comparatively inconſiderable expenſe. The city of Quebec, ſtruck with conſternation at this event, almoſt immediately capitulated, though ſtill provided with the means of a vigorous defence, and the ſhattered remains of the French army retired with precipitation to Montreal.

In England this intelligence, which very cloſely followed the former doubtful diſpatches of the General, excited that delirium of joy which the return of national proſperity, after a long ſeries of national diſaſters, is alone adequate to inſpire. This was damped only by the death of the hero who had atchieved the conqueſt; but ſo faſcinating were the glories with which it was invironed, that in fact

> Ambo beati! Plaudite, milites,
> Morte invidendâ plaudite nobilem!
> Te rura, fortunate, et urbes,
> Te recinet, nemus bonne, WOLFI.

Vide CANADIA, an Ode publiſhed in the year 1760, and fraught with all the beauties of elegant and claſſic compoſition. The glorious deaths of other heroes preſs at the ſame time upon the imagination—of a Bayard; a Sydney; a Gaſton de Foix;—of a Guſtavus Adolphus; and of Conſtantine the laſt Emperor of the Greeks, which, though not adorned by the purple coloring of ſucceſs, is perhaps beyond all others intrinſically illuſtrious,

it rather heightened than diminiſhed the exultation of the triumph.

General Murray, who had been appointed to the government of Quebec, took every precaution that prudence could ſuggeſt to ſecure and maintain this important poſſeſſion. Nor were they found ſuperfluous; for, early in the ſpring of the year 1760, the Chevalier de Levis, who ſucceeded M. de Montcalm as commander of the French forces, aſſembled with great diligence, from all quarters, the troops remaining in Canada, and began his march from Montreal, in the month of April, hoping to recapture Quebec before the garriſon could receive the expected ſuccors from England. General Murray, though much inferior in numbers, took poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt in the vicinity of Quebec, and determined to riſque an engagement, which, if it proved unſucceſsful, would not prevent his retiring within the walls of the city, which he determined to defend to the laſt extremity. The great diſparity of force ſoon decided the conflict in favor of the French, and the General retreated to Quebec, which was immediately inveſted by the French army. But on the intelligence that an Engliſh fleet deſtined for its relief, was already in the gulph of St. Laurence, they raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, leaving their proviſions, ſtores, and artillery, in the hands of General Murray. And the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Gover-

nor-

nor-General of Canada, now centered all his hopes in the defence of Montreal, which, in the expectation of an attack from General Amherſt, he had ſtrengthened with new fortifications, had recruited his army with new levies of troops, and had collected large magazines of military ſtores. The Engliſh commander, after detaching Colonel Haviland with a ſtrong force to beſiege the poſt occupied by the French at Iſle aux Noix, proceeded himſelf to the banks of the lake Ontario, where he embarked his troops, and croſſing the lakes reduced the *Iſle Royale*, commanding the entrance of the great river St. Laurence, the navigation of which, to the iſland of Montreal, is rendered extremely dangerous, by the number of rapids and falls. The General, however, arrived with his army at Montreal, the beginning of September, with inconſiderable loſs; and in a ſhort time he was joined by General Murray, who had received orders to co-operate with him on the ſide of Quebec. And Colonel Haviland alſo, after the reduction of Iſle aux Noix, had advanced with the forces under his command, to the ſouth ſide of the river, oppoſite to Montreal. The Marquis de Vaudreuil perceiving himſelf completely inveſted, and deſpairing of relief, demanded a capitulation, which was granted upon very favorable terms. And thus the conqueſt of the province of Canada was finally completed—a conqueſt the moſt glorious and

and the moſt important ever atchieved by the arms of Great Britain.

Uninterrupted proſperity alſo, during the ſame period, attended the operations of the war, on the part of England, in the other quarters of the globe. Early in the year 1758, a plan had been preſented to the Miniſter, by one Cumming, an African merchant, of the pacific ſect of Quakers, for the reduction of Fort Louis, on the river Senegal, which being examined and approved, a ſmall ſquadron was equipped, under the command of Captain Marſh, hoiſting a broad pendant; Mr. Cumming embarking alſo on board the Commodore's ſhip, as a promoter and director of the expedition. After diſperſing ſome armed veſſels, which oppoſed their entrance into the river, the fort and adjoining factory ſurrendered without a blow, to the Commodore; and Mr. Cumming defended his recommendation as perfectly conſonant to his religious principles, affirming himſelf to have been previouſly perſuaded that it would prove a bloodleſs conqueſt.

And in the latter end of this year, a ſucceſsful attempt was made, under the conduct of Commodore Keppel, with a more conſiderable force, upon the Iſland of Goree, ſituated at the mouth of the Senegal. The iſland was defended by two ſmall forts, and ſeveral batteries, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of cannon; but they were

were ſoon ſilenced by a furious cannonade from the ſhips of war. During the attack, the oppoſite ſhores were covered with multitudes of the natives, who expreſſed, with loud clamor and uncouth geſticulations, their aſtoniſhment at the terrible execution performed by the Britiſh ſquadron.

Nearly at the ſame time, a very powerful armament, with ſix regiments of infantry on board under the command of Generals Hopſon and Barrington, ſailed from St. Helens, and being joined on their arrival in Carliſle Bay, in the iſland of Barbadoes, by a conſiderable additional force under Commodore Moore, the united ſquadrons proceeded to Martinique; but finding this important iſland better prepared for its defence than was expected, they directed their courſe to Guadaloupe, of which, after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, they made themſelves maſters—the neighbouring iſles of Deſeada and Marigalante ſurrendering alſo on capitulation. Notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs of the expedition againſt Rochefort, the Miniſter determined upon another attempt of the ſame nature; the execution of which was entruſted to Commodore, now Lord Howe, an officer of approved judgment and gallantry, who diſembarking the troops, agreably to his inſtructions, on the coaſt of Normandy, took poſſeſſion of the town of Cherburg without oppoſition: And, after deſtroying the harbor and baſon of that place, upon which much

gilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who had, with a ſuperior force, blockaded that port during the greater part of the ſummer. At length, being driven from this ſtation by ſtreſs of weather, M. de Conflans, the French Admiral, embraced the opportunity of weighing anchor from Breſt Water with an armament of twenty-one ſhips of the line. On the firſt intelligence of their departure, Sir Edward Hawke ſailed in purſuit of them. As ſoon as the French Admiral perceived the Engliſh fleet off Quiberon Bay, he retired cloſe in ſhore, in order to avoid an engagement. The Engliſh Commander, however, was not deterred, by his knowlege of the coaſt, which is in this part rendered extremely dangerous by rocks, ſhoals, and quickſands, from following and attacking the enemy with the moſt undaunted reſolution; the weather alſo was uncommonly tempeſtuous, the days much diminiſhed in length, and the Engliſh Admiral had to encounter the additional diſadvantage of a lee ſhore. About three o'clock on the twentieth of November 1759 the battle began, and continued till the fleets were enveloped in darkneſs, which ſeaſonably intervened to ſave the French fleet from total deſtruction. Two capital ſhips, the Superbe and Theſée, were ſunk during the action; the Hero ſtruck her colors, but no boat could be ſent with ſafety to take poſſeſſion; the Soleil Royale, the flag-ſhip of the French Commander, was next

day

day burnt by her own crew, to prevent her falling into the hands of the Engliſh; and two other ſhips of the line were alſo ſtranded and deſtroyed. The reſt of the fleet, with much difficulty, ſheltered themſelves in the river Vilaine, where they were long blockaded, but at length found means to eſcape to Rochefort. This was a fatal blow to the French marine; and, after this defeat, the French Court attempted no further naval expedition of moment. Very important advantages alſo were obtained in the latter years of the war by the Britiſh arms on the coaſt of India, of which it will now be neceſſary to offer a conciſe but diſtinct narration.

HINDOSTAN, that vaſt country, extending two thouſand miles in length from the mountains of Tartary and Thibet on the north, to Cape Comorin, divided only by a narrow ſtrait from the beautiful iſland of Ceylon, on the ſouth, preſents, among the various regions of the earth, a moſt conſpicuous and intereſting object of political and philoſophical contemplation. The civilization of this immenſe peninſula may be traced back to an æra of the moſt remote antiquity. Learning and the arts, which have deſcended to the modern nations of Europe from the Romans and the Greeks, were indubitably tranſmitted or transferred to them from the Phœnicians and Egyptians; who, as there is great reaſon to believe, derived the radical principles of the knowlege which they poſſeſſed from the ſages

ſages of Hindoſtan, with whom ſcience and the arts ſeem to have originated. And it is very remarkable, that ſuch as the inhabitants of Hindoſtan are deſcribed to have been two thouſand years ago, ſuch they ſtill remain; and the eſtabliſhed laws, inſtitutions, cuſtoms, manners, and religion, of India, have, in this long ſucceſſion of ages, ſuffered neither any eſſential addition or diminution. Nothing, indeed, can be imagined more ſtrongly calculated to perpetuate the ſyſtem originally formed than the ſingular and remarkable diviſion of this people into tribes, profeſſions, or CASTES, ſeparated by a ſuperſtition ſo rigorous, as to render it unlawful and profane even to eat or drink out of the ſame veſſel, exceping on their ſolemn feſtivals in the ſame temple or pagoda, when joining in the ſame religious ſacrifice. All the different tribes, the military *caſte* only excepted, are required, under certain exemptions or indulgencies, to abſtain from animal food; and the high and venerable *caſte* of the Brahmans in particular, from whom more rigid examples of virtue are expected, touch nothing that has life, but ſubſiſt entirely upon milk, fruit, and vegetables*. The principles of their philoſophy,

* The principal caſtes of India are, the Brahmans, or men of ſcience, including the prieſthood; the Khatries, or the military, and proprietors of land; the Bhyſe or Banian, comprehending the merchants and cultivators of the ſoil; and the Sooderahs, or

phy, as well as the myſteries of their religion, are contained in certain records of the moſt obſcure and recondite antiquity, ſtyled the *Veds* or *Vedams*, ſuppoſed to be of divinely-inſpired origin, and written in the Sanſcrit language, which has long ceaſed to be a living tongue, and is now underſtood only by the learned Brahmans, whoſe peculiar pro-

or mechanics and laborers, including the bulk of the people. But theſe are ſubdivided into many others, all of which are kept religiouſly diſtinct. In the myſtic language of the Vedams, the Brahmans are ſaid to be created from the mouth of Brimha, the Khatries from his arms, the Bhyſe from his body, and the Sooderahs from his feet. The Hallachores, ſtyled, in the Sanſcrit, Chandalas, are the refuſe and *outcaſts* of all the different tribes; but the number of them is happily inconſiderable, as they are held in a kind of religious abhorrence; their very touch, or the ſlighteſt accidental intercourſe with them, being accounted, even by the loweſt Sooderah, an almoſt indelible pollution. Alſo, ſcattered throughout the immenſe regions of Hindoſtan, are to be found multitudes of wandering devotees, or aſcetics, known under the various appellations of Yoghees, Sonaſſees, Faquiers, &c. &c. Deeply impreſſed with the doctrine taught by the Brahman philoſophy, that man's ſupreme felicity conſiſts in a kind of intellectual apathy or abſorption, theſe enthuſiaſts, with deplorable folly, inflict upon themſelves the moſt rigorous and almoſt incredible corporeal penances, vainly hoping, by this means, to aſſimilate and exalt their minds more nearly to the perfection of the divine nature, and to detach themſelves more effectually from that ſyſtem of matter which they are taught to contemn as baſe and vile. And ſuch is the veneration in which this ſpecies of voluntary martyrdom is held, that the profane and abject Chandala is not admitted to the enviable privilege of devoting himſelf to this ſacred profeſſion.

vince and privilege it is to read and meditate theſe ſacred volumes. The Khatries, who rank next in dignity, are permitted to hear them read; but the inferior tribes are reſtrained to the knowlege of the *Shaſtahs*, which are commentaries of high and eſtabliſhed authority upon the Vedams, adapted to popular uſe. The grand and fundamental article of their religious creed is, that there is One Supreme GOD, whoſe eſſence is infinitely removed from human comprehenſion, Eternal, Omnipotent, Inviſible, who ordains and accepts the various religious rites of various nations, and that he is beſt pleaſed and propitiated by charity and good works. They teach that this GOD is to be worſhipped by SYMBOLS, repreſenting his various atttibutes—a moſt pernicious and fatal error, with admirable wiſdom guarded againſt in the Jewiſh Decalogue—which, from a ſyſtem of pure and refined theiſm, has converted, by a natural and irreſiſtible gradation, the popular religion of the Hindoos into groſs idolatry *. The philoſophers of Hindoſtan admit, without

* When BRAHM determined to create the univerſe, the Vedams teach that he firſt commanded into exiſtence the GODS Viſhnoo, Brimha, and Shivah, to whom he delegated the taſk of forming, preſerving, and governing, all things which it contains. This mythological account, however, is underſtood to be entirely allegorical; and this TRIAD or TRINITY of divine emanations, expreſſed in the Sanſcrit language by the myſtic word OUM, are unqueſtionably nothing more than ſymbols of the

out heſitation, the doctrine of the immortality of the ſoul, which they conceive to be an emanation from

the different energies of the divine nature, or of the power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, of the Supreme Being. This is the *Trinity* with which the mind of PLATO was ſo deeply impreſſed and enraptured, and which, in conſequence of the wide diffuſion of the Platonic ſyſtem of philoſophy, blended itſelf ſo intimately with the learned theories of the early heathen converts to Chriſtianity. Such was the ſcientific ardor of this celebrated Grecian, and ſuch his admiration of the Indian philoſophy, that we are told he once entertained a purpoſe—emulous, perhaps, of the fame of Pythagoras—of viſiting Hindoſtan in perſon: "Ad Indos, ſays Apuleius, et Magos intendiſſet animum, niſi eum bella tunc vetuiſſent Aſiatica." In the famous dialogues preſerved in the Sanſcrit language, between Viſhnoo and Arjoon, Viſhnoo ſays, "All things proceed from me, and there is not any thing, animate or inanimate, without me. In me all things are repoſited. I am in the incenſe, in the fire, and in the victim. He who believeth in UNITY, and worſhippeth me preſent in all things, dwelleth in me. They who, delighting in the welfare of all nature, ſerve me in my incorruptible, ineffable, and inviſible form, omnipotent, incomprehenſible, exalted, fixed, and immoveable, with ſubdued paſſions, and who are the ſame in all things, ſhall come unto me." Arjoon ſays, in reply, "Reverence be unto thee, again and again reverence, O thou who art all in all! Great is thy power, and great thy glory. By thee the univerſe was ſpread abroad. Thou art Vayoo the God of the winds, Agnee the God of fire, Varoon the God of the ocean, &c. Worthy to be adored, bear with me as a friend with a friend, a lover with the beloved." Viſhnoo anſwers—"He is dear to me who is free from enmity, merciful, and exempt from pride and ſelfiſhneſs, who is the ſame in pain and in pleaſure, patient of wrongs, contented, and whoſe mind is

from the divine eſſence; and capable of an accidental and temporary conjunction with, and tranſmigration

fixed on me alone. He is my beloved, of whom mankind is not afraid, and who is not afraid of mankind, who is unſolicitous about events, to whom praiſe and blame are as one, who has no particular home, and is of a ſteady mind. The man who, performing the duties of life and quitting all intereſt in them, placeth his affections upon BRAHM the Supreme, is not tainted with ſin, but remaineth, like the leaf of the lotos, unaffected by the waters." KRISHEN, or Kriſhna, is the God Viſhnoo in one of his various incarnations; in which capacity he is repreſented as a blooming and beautiful youth, with the characteriſtic appendage of a flute or lyre, reſembling the Apollo of the Greeks; and, amongſt many other ſtriking analogies between the Indian and Grecian mythologies, deſcribed as encircled by the ſame number of graceful nymphs endowed with the ſame divine accompliſhments, ſtyled the GOPIA, who are ſaid to have fixed their reſidence in the delightful groves of Matra. In a hymn addreſſed to Kama-diva, or the God of Love, in the Hindoo ſyſtem, ſon of Maya, the power of attraction, we read, in the elegant tranſlation of Sir William Jones—

Can men reſiſt thy power when Kriſhen yields?
Kriſhen, who ſtill in Matra's holy fields
Tunes harps immortal, and to ſtrains divine
Dances by moonlight with *the Gopia nine.*

In the temples of Viſhnoo this God is worſhipped under the ſymbol of an human figure, having a circle of heads and a multiplicity of hands, to denote the univerſality of his knowlege, preſence, and power. The moſt celebrated of theſe temples or pagodas is ſituated on the banks of the Coleroon, near the weſtern extremity of the iſland of Seringham. It conſiſts of ſeven ſquare incloſures, ſtanding at three hundred and fifty feet aſunder.

In

migration to, any organical ſyſtem of matter; and into the ſame infinite eſſence from which it originally

In the inmoſt incloſure are the altars and the image of the Deity. The grand entrance is richly ornamented with pillars of granite of prodigious ſize. When the wars in the Carnatic between the French and Engliſh commenced, theſe rude invaders ſcrupled not to profane, by the entrance of their troops, the firſt courts of this hallowed edifice. And we are told that, on their approach, a Brahman, ſtanding on the ſummit of the lofty portico of the temple, cried to them with a loud voice to deſiſt from this impiety; but finding his menaces and ſupplications equally diſregarded, he threw himſelf down with violence upon the pavement below, and was inſtantly daſhed to pieces. It is a ſingularity of the Hindoo ſyſtem, that it refuſes to admit proſelytes; for the Hindoo philoſophers maintain that the different modes of faith and worſhip eſtabliſhed in different countries, when practiſed with a pure mind, are equally acceptable to the SUPREME, to whom they give the appellations of "the Principle of Truth," the "Spirit of Wiſdom," the "Univerſal Soul," whoſe eſſence pervades all things, who fills all ſpace, and who cannot therefore be juſtly pourtrayed under any viſible and diſtinct form. A celebrated Daniſh miſſionary, M. Ziegenbalg, tells us "that the Brahmans uniformly affirmed to him that GOD was a Being wholly ſpiritual and incomprehenſible; but that the adoration before idols being ordained by their religion, GOD would receive and conſider it as adoration offered to himſelf—in the multitude of images they profeſſed to adore One Divine Eſſence." M. Bernier, a French traveller in the laſt century, who paſſed ſome time at the city of Benares, the ſacred ſeat of Indian ſcience, affirms, that he was told, in a conference which he held with the chief of the Pundits, "that though they had, in their temples, numerous images or idols in order to fix the attention of the worſhipper—"*afin qu'il y ait quelque choſe devant les yeux qui*

ally ſprang, after completing its deſtined ſeries of tranſmigrations, it will be ultimately abſorbed. The

arrête l'eſprit;" yet the honors paid to them were entirely to be referred to the Being whoſe attributes they repreſented." And St. Francis Xavier, the great Apoſtle of India, at a ſtill earlier period, informs us, that a Brahman on the coaſt of Malabar revealed to him in confidence, "that one of the myſteries of the Hindoo doctrine conſiſted in believing that there was only one God, creator of the heavens, and of the earth; and that this God alone was worthy to be adored." The learned Brahmans, employed by Mr. Haſtings—in his laudable attention, amidſt the complicated cares of government, to ſcientific reſearches—for the purpoſe of tranſlating from the Sanſcrit to the Perſian language, the authentic records of their laws and cuſtoms, ſay, in the preliminary diſcourſe affixed to their work, "From men of enlightened underſtanding, and ſound judgment, who, in their reſearches after truth, have ſwept away from their hearts malice and oppoſition, it is not concealed that the diverſities of belief which are cauſes of enmity and envy to the ignorant, are in fact a demonſtration of the power of the Supreme Being. The truly intelligent well know, that the difference and variety of created things, and the contrarieties of conſtitutions, are types of his wonderful attributes, whoſe complete power formed all things in the animal, vegetable, and material world; whoſe benevolence ſelected man to have dominion and authority over the reſt, who having beſtowed on him judgment and underſtanding, gave him ſupremacy over the regions of the world, who having put into his hands the control and diſpoſal of all things, appointed to each nation its own religion, and who conſtituted a variety of tribes, and a multiplicity of cuſtoms; but views, with pleaſure, in every place, the mode of worſhip particularly appointed to it. He is with

The general characteriſtics of this people are mildneſs, ſimplicity, and indolence. They delight to repoſe

the attendants upon the moſque, in counting the ſacred beads; and he is at the temple with the Hindoos, at the adoration of the idols." The grand dogmas of Indian theology are exhibited with the blended energies of philoſophy and poetry, in an ancient hymn, or divine ode, addreſſed to NARAYANA, or the *Divine Intellect* as it appears in the animated tranſlation of Sir William Jones, from which theſe ſtanzas are tranſcribed.

SPIRIT of Spirits, who thro' every part
Of ſpace expanded, and of endleſs time
Beyond the ſtretch of laboring thought ſublime,
Bad'ſt uproar into beauteous order ſtart;
Before heav'n was, THOU art!
Ere ſpheres beneath us roll'd, or ſpheres above,
Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,
Thou ſat'ſt alone; till thro' thy myſtic love
Things unexiſting to exiſtence ſprung.——

* * *

——Wrapt in eternal ſolitary ſhade,
Th' impenetrable gloom of light intenſe,
Impervious, inacceſſible, immenſe,
Ere ſpirits were infus'd, or forms diſplay'd,
BRAHM his own mind ſurvey'd.———

* * *

———Mountains whoſe radiant ſpires
Preſumptuous rear their ſummits to the ſkies,
And blend their emerald hue with ſapphire light,
Smooth meads and lawns, that glow with varying dyes
Of dew-beſpangled leaves, and bloſſoms bright,
Hence! vaniſh from my ſight,

repoſe under the romantic ſhade of their vaſt foreſts; or to refreſh and purify themſelves with frequent bathings and ablutions in their majeſtic and ſalubrious ſtreams; eſpecially coveting to immerge in the ſacred waters of the Ganges, for which celebrated river they univerſally entertain a ſuperſtitious and enthuſiaſtic reverence. The famous expedition of Alexander into India was rather a diſcovery than a conqueſt. But the more recent invaſion of Tamerlane was attended with ſerious and laſting conſequences. That illuſtrious oriental victor, after ſubduing the more conſiderable northern provinces of the Peninſula, fixed his imperial throne at Dehli, where the Great Moguls his deſcendants, now reduced to the mere phantoms and ſhadows of royalty, ſtill continue to reſide. For ſeveral ages, however, they retained great power and authority, and the empire of Hindoſtan was divided into extenſive kingdoms or provinces, which were governed by viceroys, ſtyled Subahs, and ſubordinate governors, under the appellation of Na-

Deluſive pictures! unſubſtantial ſhows!
My ſoul abſorb'd, ONE only Being knows
Of all perceptions, one abundant ſource,
Whence every object, every moment flows;
Suns hence derive their force,
Hence planets learn their courſe;
But ſuns and fading worlds I view no more,
GOD only I perceive, GOD only I adore.

bobs

bobs and Rajahs, tributary to, and removable at, the pleaſure of the Emperor.

At ſo recent a period as the commencement of the preſent century, Aurengzebe ſwayed the ſceptre of the Moguls, with unabated majeſty and ſplendor. But the power of this houſe received a tremendous ſhock from the invaſion of the Perſians, under the famous Shah Nadir, or Kouli Khan: And the governors of the provinces, ſeizing with eagerneſs the favorable moment, threw off their dependency upon the Emperor, and almoſt univerſally eſtabliſhed their authority as ſovereign princes of the empire, of which the Mogul is at preſent regarded only as the nominal head. Tamerlane, the founder of the Mogul empire, and the Mogul and other Tartar tribes, who acquired, in virtue of his conqueſts, permanent eſtabliſhments in India, being zealous profeſſors of the religion of Mahomed, the viceroys of the provinces, the viziers, and other great officers of ſtate, were from that period invariably ſelected from the number of the faithful; but few or no innovations were attempted in the internal government or conſtitution of the empire. And the wiſdom of Tamerlane, which is no leſs the ſubject of oriental panegyric than his valour, appears in no reſpect more conſpicuous than in his cautious avoidance of thoſe meaſures of political violence, which would probably have converted his newly-acquired dominions

nions into one vaſt ſcene of deſolation and anarchy *.

In

* The Subahs and Nabobs are univerſally Mahommedans—the Rajahs, Mirzahs, Omrahs, and other ſubordinate Governors or Princes, are chiefly Hindoos. In a remarkable petition or remonſtrance, preſented by the Rajah Juſſwont Sing to the celebrated Aurengzebe, in conſequence of an oppreſſive capitation recently and arbitrarily impoſed throughout all the provinces and kingdoms of Hindoſtan, by that imperious and warlike Emperor, we find the following paſſages, which exhibit a ſtriking picture of the antient and accuſtomed tenor of the Mogul adminiſtration in India.—"May it pleaſe your Majeſty, your royal anceſtor, Mahomed-Jelaul-ul-Deen-Akbar, whoſe throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm ſecurity, for the ſpace of fifty-two years, preſerving every tribe of men in eaſe and happineſs; whether they were followers of Jeſus, or of Moſes, or of Mahommed. Were they Brahmans, were they of the ſect of the Dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which aſcribes the exiſtence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favor—inſomuch that he was diſtinguiſhed by his people, in gratitude, by the appellation of "Guardian of Mankind." His Majeſty, Mahomed Noor-ul-Deen-Jehangheer, whoſe dwelling is now in paradiſe, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the ſhadow of his protection over the heads of his people. Nor leſs did the illuſtrious Shah Jehân, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himſelf immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue. Such were the benevolent inclinations of your anceſtors: Whereſoever they directed their ſteps, conqueſt and proſperity went before them. How can the dignity of the Sovereign be preſerved, who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from

In conſequence of the important diſcovery made by the celebrated Portugueſe navigator, Vaſco de Gama, of a paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the attention of the European nations was powerfully attracted by the immenſe riches of Hindoſtan, now placed as it were within the general reach, particularly that of the Portugueſe themſelves, who eſtabliſhed, by extraordinary exertions of valor, a commercial and political empire in India, of which the city of Goa was the emporium and metropolis. When Portugal was annexed by

from his people? At this juncture, it is told from eaſt to weſt, that the Emperor of Hindoſtan, regardleſs of the illuſtrious honor of his Timurean deſcent, will exerciſe his power over Brahmans, Sanorahs, Sonaſſees—that he will condeſcend to oppreſs the poor Indian devotee, the ſolitary inoffenſive anchoret. If your Majeſty places any faith in thoſe books, by diſtinction called divine, you will there be inſtructed that God is the God of all mankind, and not the God of Mahommedans alone. The Pagan and Muſſulman are equal in his preſence.—In the moſque his name is invoked—in the pagoda he is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion of other men is to ſet at nought the pleaſure of the Almighty. In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to juſtice—it is equally foreign to good policy; and moreover it is an innovation, and an infringement of the laws of Hindoſtan. It is wonderful, that the miniſters of your government ſhould have neglected to inſtruct your Majeſty in the rules of rectitude and honor." If any credit be due to the doctrine of the metempſychoſis, ſurely the ſoul of this illuſtrious Rajah muſt have tranſmigrated into the body of a Monteſquieu, a Locke, or a Turgot!

the

the arms of Philip II. to the crown of Spain, Holland ſucceſsfully contended with that power for pre-eminence in India. And England and France were at length induced, from an increaſing attention to their commercial intereſts, and without any ambition of dominion, to form ſettlements both on the eaſtern and weſtern coaſts of the peninſula. During the violent and frequent conteſts between theſe rival nations, deſtined to carry their rivalſhip into every part of the globe, no tranſactions of ſufficient moment to demand a place in general hiſtory are to be found relative to India for a long ſucceſſion of years.

At the period of the *acceſſion* of the Houſe of Brunſwick, England was, on the Weſtern or Malabar coaſt, in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Bombay, and the factory of Surat: On the oppoſite, or Coromandel coaſt, of Fort St. David's, and farther to the northward, of Fort St. George, uſually ſtyled Madraſs, from its contiguity to that city, which, with ſeveral villages in the vicinity, was purchaſed in the laſt century, by the Eaſt India Company, of the King of Golconda: Still farther to the north, at the mouth of the Ganges, was Fort William, cloſely adjoining the town of Calcutta, a vaſt and populous commercial mart, ſituated in the kingdom of Bengal.

The commerce of the French chiefly centered in the city of Pondicherry, a large and beautiful town

town on the Coromandel coaſt, between the Forts St. David and St. George. Chandernagore, on the Ganges, ranked next in importance to Pondicherry, and they had alſo eſtabliſhed factories at Rajapore, Calicut, and Surat, on the weſtern ſide of the continent. During the courſe of the war which commenced in the year 1740, Fort St. George, or Madraſs, the reſidence of the Governor-General, and the ſeat of the civil adminiſtration, extending over all the Engliſh ſettlements in India, was conquered by the French; but reſtored in exchange for Cape Breton, at the enſuing pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Some years previous to that period, M. Dupleix had been appointed to the Governor-Generalſhip of the French ſettlements in India—a man of ſingular ability and daring ambition, who ſeized with avidity every opportunity to extend and eſtabliſh the empire of France in Hindoſtan. Nizam-al-Muluc, the Subah or Viceroy of the Decan, in the year 1745, had conſtituted, in virtue of his office, Anaverdi-Khan, Nabob of the province of Arcot, a dependency upon his government. The Subah not long ſurviving this appointment, was ſucceeded by his ſon, Nazir-Zing, whoſe claim to the ſucceſſion was ſtrongly oppoſed by his own kinſman Muzapher-Zing—for by theſe uncouth names, to our ears of barbarous ſound, muſt the page of hiſtory, in recording the tranſactions

actions of the European nations in India, be darkened and disfigured. Muzapher-Zing had recourſe to the aſſiſtance of M. Dupleix, who readily granted him powerful ſuccors, in conſideration and proſpect of great future advantages. Thus reinforced, and joined by Chunda-Saib, a man of high rank and influence in the Subahdary, he took the field againſt Nazir-Zing, who was ſtrongly ſupported by the Engliſh, from motives ſimilar to thoſe which actuated M. Dupleix. In a ſhort time Muzapher-Zing was reduced to abſolute ſubmiſſion, and Nazir-Zing, in clemency, ſpared his life; but detained him as a ſtate-priſoner. In this ſituation Muzapher-Zing found means to carry on dark and dangerous intrigues with Dupleix and Chunda-Saib, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry, and even with the Miniſters of Nazir-Zing; and a deep and traiterous conſpiracy was formed, in conſequence of which Nazir-Zing was murdered in his camp, and Muzapher-Zing proclaimed Subah of the Decan. Chunda-Saib was, in conſequence of this revolution, appointed Nabob of Arcot, Anaverdi-Khan, the late Nabob, having been previouſly defeated and ſlain, and his ſon Mahomed-Ali-Khan reduced to the neceſſity of putting himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh government at Madraſs. Muzapher-Zing did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes; for, by a conſpiracy ſimilar to that by which he had himſelf

himſelf riſen to the throne, he was ſuddenly hurled from it: And the chiefs of the conſpiracy, after putting this faithleſs uſurper to death, proclaimed Sallabat-Zing, brother to Nazir-Zing, Subah of the DECAN.

On the other hand, the MOGUL, by an Imperial *phirmaund*, appointed Gawzedi Khan, the elder brother of Sallabat-Zing, to the Viceroyalty; at the ſame time declaring Chunda-Saib a traitor, and confirming Mahomed-Ali Khan in the government of Arcot. But the mandate of the Emperor would have been of little avail without the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the Engliſh Company, who determined upon ſending a conſiderable military force, at the head of which was placed Captain Clive, in the ſequel ſo famous under the title of Lord Clive, into the province of Arcot, who, conducting all his operations with a vigor and diſpatch which at once eſtabliſhed his reputation as a military commander, took poſſeſſion of the city of Arcot in the ſummer of 1751. Chunda-Saib having aſſembled a conſiderable army, with the aid of M. Dupleix, inveſted the city of Arcot, but was compelled to raiſe the ſiege with great precipitation; and was afterwards, in repeated engagements, defeated and foiled by the Engliſh Commander. In the ſpring of 1752, Major-General Lawrence, Commander in Chief of the Company's troops, took the field in perſon, and attacking the grand army of the enemy, headed by

by the Nabob Chunda-Saib, he gained a complete victory. Chunda-Saib being taken priſoner, had his head ſtruck off by order of the Rajah of Tanjore, a neighbouring Prince of India, in alliance with the Company. M. Dupleix now proclaimed Rajah Saib, ſon of Chunda-Saib, Nabob of Arcot. And Sallabat-Zing, in return for the powerful ſupport he had received from the French in the Decan, and having deviſed means to rid himſelf of his competitor Gawzedi Khan by poiſon, made a grant to M. Dupleix of all the Engliſh poſſeſſions to the northward of Pondicherry. But the French Governor being recalled before this grant could be carried into effect, and the Sieur Godeheu, the new Governor, profeſſing the moſt pacific intentions, a proviſional treaty was quickly agreed upon on the footing of *uti poſſidetis*, till freſh inſtructions ſhould arrive from their reſpective Courts or principals in Europe. This interval of quiet, however, was of ſhort duration; for no ſooner was the inimical diſpoſition of the two Courts aſcertained, than hoſtilities recommenced in the Carnatic, and were carried on with various ſucceſs, but, upon the whole, with conſiderable advantage by General Lawrence on the part of the Engliſh, when the attention of that Commander was, by a ſeries of extraordinary and intereſting events, diverted to another part of the Continent, the peace of which had hitherto remained undiſturbed by European ambition.

tion. Ali-Verdi-Khan, Subah of Bengal, with the contiguous provinces of Bahar and Oriſſa, a Prince who had forced his way to the throne by great crimes, and had maintained poſſeſſion of it by great talents, dying in April 1756, was ſucceeded by his adopted ſon Sou-Rajah-Dowla, the grandſon of his brother Hadjee Hamet, a young man immerſed in debauchery, weak in his underſtanding, violent in his paſſions, and profligate in his morals. Ali-Verdi-Khan, notwithſtanding his early and continued partiality for this unhappy youth, with reaſon dreaded the conſequences of his elevation to the *Muſnud*. In his laſt illneſs, he obliged Sou-Rajah-Dowla to ſwear upon the Koran never more to touch any intoxicating liquor, a vow which he obſerved with ſurpriſing and undeviating fidelity. The Subah, feeling the near and rapid approach of death, addreſſed his adopted ſon and heir in the following words: "My life has been a life of war and ſtratagem. For what have I fought, to what have my counſels tended but to ſecure, my ſon, to you a quiet ſucceſſion to my Subahdary! My fears for you have rendered my nights ſleepleſs. I conſidered who had power to give you trouble after I am gone hence. Huſſein-Cooley-Khan, by his reputation, wiſdom, courage, and affection to Shah Amet-Jung and his houſe, I feared would obſtruct your government; but his power is no more. Monichund Dewan, who might

have been your dangerous enemy, I have taken into favor. But, my ſon, keep in view the power of the European nations in this country. This I would have freed you from, if God had lengthened my days. The work muſt now be yours. Their wars and perfidious politics ſhould keep you waking. The power of the Engliſh is great; reduce them firſt; the others will then give you little trouble. Suffer them not, my ſon, to have forts or ſoldiers; if you do, the country is not yours." Strongly impreſſed with theſe ideas, the new Subah viewed, with the higheſt alarm and apprehenſion, the additional fortifications carrying on at Fort William, in conſequence of the war now declared againſt France, and from the proſecution of which he repeatedly required the Governor to deſiſt. But his orders being neglected or evaded, he appeared ſuddenly before Calcutta, in the month of June, with a large body of troops, and ſummoned the fort and city to ſurrender. Mr. Holwell, who acted as Governor, made a reſolute defence, but was at length compelled to ſubmit to ſuperior force. The Subah, notwithſtanding his aſſurances of protection from perſonal injury, inſtantly ordered the Engliſh garriſon, amounting to one hundred and forty-ſix perſons, into confinement. And there being, at a ſmall diſtance, a ſtrong ſtone priſon, forming within the walls a cube of about eighteen feet, open only to the weſtward by two windows, ſtrongly barred

barred with iron, they were conveyed for immediate ſecurity to this dungeon. Mr. Holwell, on entering the place, immediately conceived all the horrors which muſt enſue, if they failed in obtaining a ſpeedy releaſe; and accoſting the Jemmautdaur or officer of the Indian guard, promiſed to gratify him with a thouſand rupees if he would remove one half of them to a ſeparate apartment. The Jemmautdaur, allured by the proſpect of this reward, aſſured him he would uſe his utmoſt endeavor to procure for them this indulgence, and retired for that purpoſe; but returning in a ſhort time, he told the Governor that the Subah, by whoſe order alone ſuch a ſtep could be taken, was aſleep, and no perſon durſt diſturb his repoſe. Mr. Holwell, in his pathetic narration of this unexampled ſcene of diſtreſs, compares their ſituation, in this dark and ſultry cell, to that of ſo many miſerable animals in an exhauſted receiver—no circulation of freſh air ſufficient to continue life, and not enough diveſted of its vivifying particles to put a ſpeedy period to it. A moſt profuſe perſpiration, accompanied with a raging thirſt, ſoon took place, which, becoming each moment more inſupportable, gradually changed into frenzy and delirium. The priſon now reſounded with the ravings of deſpair, and nature being at length reduced to extremity, with the groans and broken accents of the dying. In the morning twenty-three only were

found alive, and in theſe ſcarcely were there any perceptible remains of ſenſation or ſenſibility. Their ſufferings, however, appeared to make little impreſſion upon the ferocious and obdurate heart of the Subah, who viſibly exulted in the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe—not having the leaſt conception that the Engliſh would return in force to Calcutta; and contemptuouſly declaring, that he did not believe there were ten thouſand fighting men in all *Frenghiſtan**. The wretched remains of the factory were now embarked on board a few trading veſſels lying at the mouth of the Ganges; and theſe the Subah did not offer to moleſt. He even expreſſed his wiſhes that the Engliſh merchants would return to Calcutta, if they could be ſatisfied to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of their own, and carry on their traffic like the Armenians and his own native ſubjects. And happy for mankind aſſuredly would it have been, had Europe never extended her views farther than this in India. No ſooner, however, was the intelligence of this calamity conveyed to Madraſs, than vigorous preparations were made by the Engliſh government to revenge the injury, and obliterate the diſgrace. A formidable armament under the command of Admiral Watſon and Colonel Clive, to the great aſtoniſhment of the Subah, anchored in the Ganges

* *i. e.* The country of the Franks—the appellation univerſally given to the Europeans throughout the Eaſt.

in

in December, and immediately commencing their operations, Calcutta was inveſted and reduced in the month of January (1757), and alſo the city of Hughley on the Ganges, where the principal magazines of the Subah were depoſited. Soon after which, the Subah himſelf, who had aſſembled a vaſt army in order to repel the invaders, was attacked by Colonel Clive, and obliged to retreat in confuſion, and with conſiderable loſs. Intimidated by the ſucceſſes of the Engliſh, he conſented to ſign articles of peace, February 9, 1757, by which it was ſtipulated that the factories and poſſeſſions belonging to the Engliſh Company ſhould be reſtored, and full compenſation made for their loſſes; and, in general, that whatever rights and privileges had been at any time granted to the Company by virtue of the *phirmaundi* of the Emperor ſhould be confirmed and ratified. After the concluſion of this treaty, the Engliſh Commanders proceeded to the attack of the French fortreſs and factory of Chandernagore; the reduction of which filled the Nabob with new apprehenſions and alarms. And he remonſtrated in ſtrong terms to Admiral Watſon againſt theſe acts of violence: "It is, ſaid the Subah, contrary to all rule and cuſtom that you ſhould bring your animoſities and differences into my country; it has never been known ſince the days of Timur that the Europeans made war upon one another within the Emperor's dominions. If

you are determined to beſiege the French factories, I ſhall be neceſſitated, in honor and duty to my Sovereign, to aſſiſt them with my troops." But Admiral Watſon, regardleſs of his remonſtrances, and jealous of his deſigns, declared to him, "that, if he protected the King's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country that all the waters of the Ganges would not be able to extinguiſh." Such, indeed, was the capricious and tyrannic conduct of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, that thoſe who were originally moſt attached to his intereſts began to be weary of his government. Amongſt other men of high rank in the Subahdary of whom he entertained juſt ſuſpicion, was Meer-Jaffier-Ali-Khan, nearly allied to the Subah by his marriage with the ſiſter of Ali-Verdi-Khan. In the vehemence of his paſſion he had been heard to declare that he would have the head of Meer-Jaffier: And Meer-Jaffier, ſenſible of the imminent dangers of his ſituation, made ſecret propoſals to the Engliſh Reſident at the Court of Moorſhedabad, the capital of Bengal, which were eagerly embraced by the Engliſh Council and Commandants at Calcutta, for the depoſition of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, and the advancement of Meer-Jaffier to the *Muſnud*. The jealouſies of the Subah continuing to increaſe, Meer-Jaffier retired from Court to his reſidence in the country, from whence he tranſmitted diſpatches to Colonel Clive, urging him to begin his march to Moorſhedabad.

The

The Colonel ſeeing that the die was caſt, and that they had already gone much too far unleſs they proceeded ſtill farther, immediately put the whole army in motion, and with a juſt, though daring reliance on his own talents, and the valor of his troops, croſſing the Ganges, he advanced to Plaſſey, within one day's march of the capital, where he found the Subah encamped with a force of ſeventy thouſand men, in all the "*pomp, pride, and circumſtance,*" of Oriental magnificence. The number of elephants with their ſcarlet houſings, the rich and variegated embroidery of their tents and ſtandards, and the martial ſplendor of their cavalry parading over the field with their drawn ſwords glittering in the ſun, made a grand and ſtriking appearance. The Subah, feeble of mind and infirm of purpoſe, on the firſt intelligence of the march of the Engliſh army, had eagerly courted the ſupport and aſſiſtance of Meer-Jaffier, whom he had, beyond all poſſibility of forgiveneſs, previouſly offended. A full and free pardon was granted to Meer-Jaffier, who, being introduced into the preſence of the Subah, took a ſolemn oath upon the Koran that he would be his faithful ſoldier; and, in return, the Subah ſwore that he would never attempt the life of Meer-Jaffier. Though the army of the Subah was advantageouſly poſted upon an eminence, Colonel Clive advanced at the head of his troops, conſiſting of little more than three thouſand men, with great

intrepidity to the attack. Such, on the other hand, was the diſtruſt and ſecret deſpondency prevailing throughout the Aſiatic army, that reſiſtance ſeemed to be ſcarcely attempted. With the trifling loſs of about ſeventy men a moſt deciſive victory was gained—the camp, artillery, and ſtores of the enemy falling into the hands of the victors. Doubtful, perhaps, of the final event, and perplexed in the mazes of his own policy, Meer-Jaffier, who commanded the left wing of the Subah's army, took no part whatever in the action. But the Engliſh Commander, far from diſcovering any impolitic ſymptoms of reſentment at his ambiguity of conduct, ſaluted him, with apparent complacency, Subah of the three provinces, and exhorted him to purſue his march to Moorſhedabad at the head of his troops—engaging, without delay, to follow and ſupport him with his whole force. Sou-Rajah-Dowla, who had fled with the foremoſt from the field of action, abandoned himſelf to deſpair; and on his arrival at Moorſhebadad, after ſome tumultuous conſultations and inconſiſtent reſolutions, he diſguiſed himſelf in the habit of a faquier, and left his palace in the dead of night, in order to ſeek for ſafety in obſcurity. Meer-Jaffier, all obſtacles to his advancement being now ſurmounted, was ſeated, with all the accuſtomed ceremonies of ſtate, upon the *Muſnud*; and acknowleged as Subah of Bengal by all the Rajahs and Omrahs of the kingdom: And the unhappy Sou-Rajah-

Rajah-Dowla being diſcovered in his flight, was put to death, imploring in vain for mercy, after a reign of fifteen months, by the expreſs command of the ſon of the new Subah. In conformity to the treaty previouſly concluded with the Engliſh, this Prince paid into the treaſury of the Company a crore of rupees *, as an indemnification for their loſſes at Calcutta, and ceded to them a conſiderable territory in the vicinity of that city. And thus was a revolution accompliſhed very marvellous in the eyes of the inhabitants of Bengal, who could not comprehend how the throne of Ali-Verdi-Khan could be ſubverted by an handful of foreign mercantile adventurers. The affairs of the Company being thus triumphantly re-eſtabliſhed in the northern provinces of India, the watchful attention of the Supreme Council and of the military Commandants was again turned to the coaſt of Coromandel, where the French had taken advantage of the temporary diminution of force on the part of the Engliſh, to make themſelves maſters of Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and other ſubordinate ſettlements in that quarter: And being now ſtrengthened with large reinforcements from Europe

* A crore is an hundred lacks of rupees, conſiderably exceeding one million ſterling. Upon the whole, and on various pretences, not leſs than one million eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, excluſive of preſents to individuals to an immenſe amount, was exacted from the new Subah on this occaſion. A lack of rupees is eſtimated at about 11,500l.

conducted

conducted by M. Lally, under convoy of a powerful ſquadron, commanded by M. d'Aché, they threatened the entire conqueſt of all the Engliſh poſſeſſions on that coaſt. Fort St. David's was firſt inveſted, which ſurrendered after a very ſhort and feeble defence. The Rajah of Tanjore having diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a zealous and faithful ally of the Engliſh, M. Lally marched into his dominions, and on the Rajah's refuſal to advance the enormous ſum of ſeventy-two lacks of rupees, demanded by the French General, he inveſted the city of Tanjore, which was ſo reſolutely defended by the native troops of the Rajah, aſſiſted by ſome European engineers, that M. Lally was compelled to raiſe the ſiege with conſiderable loſs. He took poſſeſſion however, in his retreat from Tanjore, of the city of Arcot, the reſidence of the Nabob Mahomed-Ali-Khan, without oppoſition; and, in the beginning of December 1758, he advanced with his whole force to Madraſs, to which he laid cloſe ſiege. But the place being ſtrongly fortified and plentifully provided, the garriſon made an obſtinate defence; and, on the arrival of a conſiderable reinforcement of troops and military ſtores, under the conduct of Captain Kempenfelt, in February (1759), M. Lally abandoned the attempt, and retired with precipitation to Arcot, extremely chagrined at the ill ſucceſs of this enterpriſe. "I reckon, ſays he, in an intercepted confidential letter

ter to his friend M. le Gret, that we ſhall, on our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavor to learn ſome other trade—this of war requires too much patience; were I judge of the point of honor of the Company's officers, I would break ſome of them like glaſs." This Commander was a man of impetuous courage, but capricious, paſſionate, proud, and opinionated. Vizagapatam and Maſulipatam were, about this time, recovered from the French by a detachment under Colonel Ford. And Salabat-Zing, Subah of the Decan, perceiving the fortune of the war now viſibly inclining to the Engliſh, made eager advances to the government of Madraſs; and a treaty was concluded with the Subah, by which he renounced his former alliance with France, and ceded the entire *Circar* of Maſulipatam to the Company; and the Engliſh, on their part, engaged not to aſſiſt or protect the Subah's enemies. Colonel Coote, who now commanded in chief the Company's forces in the Carnatic, gained ſeveral advantages over M. Lally; and a general engagement taking place between the two armies near Wandewaſh, at the beginning of the year (1760), the French were defeated with the loſs of their camp and cannon. Colonel Coote immediately undertook the ſiege, and effected the reduction, of Arcot. Several bloody but indeciſive naval encounters intervened alſo, ſince the commencement of the preceding year, between M. d'Aché and

and Admiral Pocoke, the ſucceſſor of Admiral Watſon, who had died ſoon after the re-capture of Calcutta, univerſally lamented and eſteemed as a man of great profeſſional ſkill, of firm integrity, and of untarniſhed honor.

After the defeat of Wandewaſh, M. Lally retreated to Pondicherry, where he was purſued with unremitting diligence by Colonel Coote, who, with the aſſiſtance of the Britiſh ſquadron, ſoon formed the complete blockade of that important city. As ſoon as the periodical rains abated, and the ſeaſon for active operations recommenced, the blockade was converted into a regular ſiege; and the place, though defended with great vigor by M. Lally, was reduced to extremity before the end of January (1761), not ſo much from the damage ſuſtained from the aſſaults of the beſiegers, as from the exceſſive ſcarcity of proviſions, which the temporary but critical abſence of M. d'Aché, now repairing and careening his ſhips at Mauritius, left M. Lally wholly deſtitute of the means to remedy. The Engliſh ſquadron, however, being driven from their ſtation by a violent tempeſt, he diſpatched a letter to the French Reſident at Pulicat, fortunately intercepted by the Engliſh, urging him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to exert himſelf in the procurement of ſupplies: "Loſe not an inſtant, ſays he, in ſending chelingoes upon chelingoes laden with rice. We are no longer blockaded by ſea. The

ſalvation

ſalvation of Pondicherry depends upon you." The Engliſh Admiral, however, ſoon reſuming his ſtation, he loſt all hope, and demanded a capitulation, which Colonel Coote would grant upon no other terms, than that of the garriſon ſurrendering priſoners of war; to which M. Lally at length indignantly aſſented. Thus the proud and opulent capital of the French ſettlements in the Eaſt fell, by the fortune of war, into the hands of the enemy, nearly at the ſame time that the conqueſt of Canada was completed in the Weſt; and the genius of England triumphed over that of France, at this propitious period, on both ſides of the globe.

There yet remains to be inveſtigated, another grand and eſſential branch of the memorable conteſt now under contemplation; that is to ſay the war in Germany, reſumed with freſh vigor after a ſhort interval, ſubſequent to the convention of Cloiſter-Seven. No ſooner was the alliance concluded between the Courts of Vienna and Verſailles, than it was communicated to the Court of Peterſburg, and the Empreſs of Ruſſia acceded to it without heſitation. Sweden alſo ſpeedily became a party in the confederacy; though extremely oppoſite to the views and inclinations of the Monarch, who by the conſtitution of government, eſtabliſhed after the death of Charles XII. poſſeſſed little more than the ſhadow of regal authority; the

the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was deterred from following the example of Sweden, only by his vicinity to Pruſſia, and the bitter recollection of his former loſſes and ſufferings.

Great military preparations, however, being made in all parts of the Auſtrian dominions, and the King of Pruſſia having received undoubted intelligence of negotiations which had been long ſecretly depending between the Courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden, extremely to his prejudice, and of which the diſmemberment of his dominions was underſtood to be the ultimate object, ordered M. Klingraffe, his Miniſter at the Imperial Court, to demand of the Empreſs-Queen a poſitive and explicit declaration of her intentions. Count Kaunitz, by command of the Empreſs, replied in general terms, "That her Imperial Majeſty had found it neceſſary, in the preſent juncture, to arm for her own defence, and that of her allies; but that her armaments did not tend to the prejudice of any perſon or ſtate whatever." On the tranſmiſſion of this anſwer, M. Klingraffe received freſh orders from the court of Berlin, to repreſent to the Empreſs, "That his Pruſſian Majeſty was well acquainted with the ſecret hoſtile projects of the Imperial Courts; that he conſtituted the Empreſs arbiter of peace or war; that he would be ſatisfied with nothing leſs than an expreſs aſſurance of peace; and that he would re-

gard an ambiguous anſwer as a declaration of war." The Empreſs, in return, ſignified, in indignant terms, her aſtoniſhment at the memorial now preſented. She ſaid, that ſhe had, in common with all other ſovereigns, a right to take ſuch meaſures as ſhe deemed neceſſary for her ſafety, and that it belonged to none but herſelf to eſtimate her own danger; that no treaty of offenſive alliance did exiſt, or had ever exiſted, between her and the Empreſs of the Ruſſias; and that the poſitive aſſurance required of her, in terms ſo unuſually peremptory, could not be more binding than the ſolemn treaty actually ſubſiſting, and which ſhe had no intention to violate."

The Pruſſian Monarch, firmly perſuaded by evidence, tranſmitted through ſecret channels * of intel-

* Le Roi avoit un canal par lequel il tiroit, des avis certains ſur les projets de ſes ennemis qui étoient prêts d'eclater. C'étoit un commis de la Chancellerie Secrète de Dreſde, qui remettoit toutes les Semaines au Miniſtre Pruſſien les dépêches que ſa cour recevoit de Peterſbourg et de Vienne, ainſi que la copie de tous les traités qu'il avoit trouvés dans les archives. Il parut par ſes écrits que la Cour de Ruſſie s'excuſoit de ne pouvoir entreprendre la guerre cette année, à cauſe que ſa flotte n'etoit pas en etat d'entrer en mer.——La réponſe du Comte Kaunitz ſe trouva conçue en termes équivoques et ambigus; mais il s'expliqua plus ouvertement avec le Comte de Flemming, Miniſtre du Roi de Pologne à Vienne, lequel rendit compte de cet entretien dans une relation à ſa cour: La copie de cette dépêche fut envoyée incontinent de Dreſde a Berlin; le Comte Flemming

intelligence, of the inſincerity of the court of Vienna, and that Saxony waited only a favourable occaſion openly to join the confederacy againſt him, entered that Electorate with a numerous army, and took poſſeſſion of the city of Dreſden on the 8th September 1756, declaring, however, that he did not mean to violate the neutrality profeſſed by his Poliſh Majeſty, and requiring only that monarch to ſeparate his army into cantonments, as a proof and pledge of his amity and good faith. The King of Poland, aſtoniſhed and exaſperated at this unexpected intruſion, ſeemed neither to know how to comply or to reſiſt. Relying, however, upon the ſtrength of the inacceſſible camp of Pirna, ſingularly and romantically ſituated, on the ſummit of a lofty range of rocks, extending along the banks of the Elbe, to which the Saxon army had retreated, he ventured to declare his reſolution to keep his troops aſſembled for the defence and protection of his perſon and dominions. This, with an antagoniſt ſuch as the King

ming y dit, "Le Comte Kaunitz ſe propoſe d' inquiéter le Roi par ſes réponſes, et de le pouſſer à commettre les premieres hoſtilités." *Hiſt. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*—Count Hertzberg, however, in his Hiſtoric Memoir of the Reign of Frederic the Great, preſumes to ſuggeſt a doubt whether that Monarch might not rely too confidently on this ſecret intelligence, and whether it was, or is, perfectly clear that the two Empreſſes had really formed a fixed and ſerious deſign for the ſubverſion of the Electoral Houſe of Brandenburg.

of

of Pruſſia, was equivalent to a declaration of war: And the Pruſſian General, finding it impoſſible to attack the Saxons, took immediate poſſeſſion, by order of the King, of all the paſſes leading to this impregnable poſt; and the whole Saxon army, reduced to extremity by famine, was, on the 14th October, compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war. The King of Poland now retired for perſonal ſecurity to Warſaw, and the King of Pruſſia took poſſeſſion, as a conquered country, of the whole Electorate. During the blockade of Pirna, that Monarch had made an attempt to penetrate into Bohemia; but finding the Auſtrian army, under Count Browne, ſtrongly poſted at Lowoſchutz, on the Egra, a bloody engagement enſued, which terminated with nearly equal loſs; but the advantage remained with the Auſtrians, as the King of Pruſſia was compelled to meaſure back his ſteps to Saxony, where he took up his winter-quarters.

The King of Pruſſia, on re-entering Dreſden, commanded the royal cabinet to be forced, in defiance of the perſonal oppoſition of the Queen of Poland. In it was found depoſited an authentic copy of a *defenſive treaty* of alliance between the Courts of Vienna, Peterſburg, and Dreſden, which had been ſome years concluded, and which contained ſix ſecret articles. The fourth of theſe articles, for the ſake of which the whole treaty ſeemed to be formed, imported that if the King of

Pruſſia ſhould depart from the peace of Dreſden, which the contracting Powers declare their intention religiouſly to obſerve, by attacking either of the contracting Powers, or even the Republic of Poland, the rights of the Empreſs-Queen to Sileſia, &c. ſhall again revive and be conſidered as in full force; and the eventual partition of the Pruſſian dominions ſhould take place as ſtipulated in the treaty.

In conſequence of theſe daring acts of violence, the King was, at the ſubſequent meeting of the Diet at Ratiſbon, in his quality of Elector of Brandenburg, put under the *ban* of the empire, diveſted of his privileges and prerogatives, his fiefs eſcheated, and the Circles ordered to furniſh their reſpective contingencies for carrying this ſentence into execution. Not in the leaſt intimidated by this formidable denunciation, that Monarch, early in the enſuing ſpring (1757), entered Bohemia, at the head of a vaſt army, aſſiſted by the Mareſchals Keith and Schwerin, and advancing towards Prague, found the Auſtrians, who were at leaſt equally numerous, entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Count Browne, whom he attacked without heſitation or delay—forcing the entrenchments with reſiſtleſs intrepidity and complete ſucceſs, though with the loſs of the gallant Mareſchal Schwerin, who, after ſurviving the dangers of fifty campaigns, was

ſlain,

ſlain, fighting at the head of his troops, covered with laurels, in the moment of victory. The ſhattered remains of the Auſtrian army took refuge in the city of Prague, where Mareſchal Browne ſoon after died of the wounds which he received in the battle, or rather of the chagrin occaſioned by the loſs of it. The Pruſſians immediately formed the inveſtment of that city, which, in conſequence of the vaſt number incloſed within the walls, was quickly reduced, by famine, to the laſt extremity of diſtreſs.

At this critical period, the famous Leopold Count Daun, originally a ſubaltern officer ſerving in the ſchool of the great Khevenhuller, who with the penetrating eye of military ſagacity, marked his extraordinary talents, and predicted his future eminence, was appointed to the chief command of the Imperial armies. This General immediately prepared for the relief of Prague, by collecting troops from all quarters; and reinforcing them by numerous levies, he encamped with this new army in an almoſt impregnable ſituation at Kolin, near Prague, in order to haraſs and retard the operations of the ſiege. The King of Pruſſia, impatient of moleſtation, and elated with ſucceſs, formed the raſh reſolution of attacking Mareſchal Daun in his camp; but, after repeated efforts, he was finally repulſed with prodigious ſlaughter. The ſiege

of Prague was immediately raiſed in conſequence of this diſaſter, and Bohemia evacuated.

The King of Pruſſia now found his proſpects darkening on every ſide. The French army, under the Duc de Richelieu, who, with merit very inferior, had ſuperſeded Mareſchal D'Eſtrées in the command, had penetrated into the Electorate of Brandenburg, taken Halberſtadt, and laid a great extent of territory under contribution. Mareſchal Apraxin, at the head of one hundred thouſand Ruſſians, had entered Ducal Pruſſia, where they committed the moſt enormous exceſſes. Pomerania was menaced with a powerful invaſion from Sweden. The army of the Empire, reinforced by a ſtrong body of troops under the Prince of Soubize, had entered Luſatia. The victorious Auſtrians, after laying cloſe ſiege to Schweidnitz, the key of Sileſia, ravaged the whole country; General Haddick, at the head of a numerous detachment, carrying terror even to the gates of Berlin. It was at this period that the King of Pruſſia thus expreſſed himſelf, in a letter to his friend the celebrated Earl Mareſchal: "What ſay you of this league, which has only the Marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The Great Elector would be ſurpriſed to ſee his grandſon at war with the Ruſſians, the Swedes, the Auſtrians, almoſt all Germany, and a hundred thouſand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it will be diſgrace in me to ſubmit; but

but I am ſure there will be no glory in vanquiſhing me."

The Ruſſian army, after reducing Memel, and leaving the country behind them a perfect waſte, reached the frontiers of Germany in Auguſt; but were ſoon after unexpectedly attacked in their camp at Norkitten, by Mareſchal Lehwald, who commanded on that ſide: And, though that General was finally obliged to deſiſt, the Ruſſians ſuſtained immenſe loſs, and they ſoon afterwards made a precipitate retreat from the Pruſſian territories. In the mean time the King of Pruſſia, and Mareſchal Keith, engaging the combined forces of France and the Empire, at Roſbach, Nov. 5 (1757), commanded by Soubize, gained a complete victory, with inconſiderable loſs. But this victory by no means extricated him from his difficulties. The Auſtrians, headed by Mareſchal Daun, had taken Schweidnitz, and laid ſiege to Breſlaw, and, on the 22d November, forced, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, the entrenchments of the army under the Prince of Bevern, poſted near that place. Breſlaw immediately ſurrendered on capitulation. The King of Pruſſia, on the news of this misfortune, inſtantly marched to the relief of Sileſia; and, coming up with the Auſtrians at Liſſa, the two armies joined battle with inconceivable fury. Notwithſtanding the military conduct and perſonal bravery diſplayed by Count Daun, on this occaſion, the Au-

ſtrians were totally defeated with the loſs of twenty thouſand men. Breſlaw opened its gates to the victors; and the whole province, excepting Schweidnitz, fell once more into the hands of the Pruſſians.

The ſudden retreat of the Ruſſians, which was better to be accounted for from political than military cauſes, left Mareſchal Lehwald at liberty to act againſt the Swedes, who had advanced into Pruſſian Pomerania, and were preparing to lay ſiege to Stetin; but on the appearance of the Pruſſian army, they not only evacuated the towns they had captured, but retreated with precipitation into Swediſh Pomerania, where they were followed by Lehwald, who drove them from one poſt to another, till nothing remained to them at the end of the campaign but the city of Stralſund. Such was the ſituation of the King of Pruſſia, when it was determined by the Engliſh Miniſter, that the army of obſervation, ſcattered and diſperſed by the Convention of Cloiſter-Seven, ſhould reſume their arms; for which the exceſſes committed by the French troops in the Electorate, gave them a very fair and plauſible pretext.

Mr. Pitt was not ignorant or inſenſible to the charge of inconſiſtency, which he well knew would be advanced againſt him with all the force of truth, if not of eloquence, on this occaſion: But very powerful reaſons now influenced this Miniſter to act

act in contradiction to that general ſyſtem of policy which he had uniformly avowed and defended. The King of England, retaining all his partiality for German politics, and yielding only to the neceſſity of the times, had Mr. Pitt continued inflexible, would doubtleſs have embraced the firſt favorable opportunity of again diſmiſſing a Miniſter, who might not again be able to reinſtate himſelf with the ſame eclat. But a conſideration of ſtill greater weight, it may be preſumed, with Mr. Pitt, was, the viſible change of ſentiment in the nation at large, on this ſubject. The King of Pruſſia, ſince the diſſolution of his political connection with France, and his conſequent alliance with England, had become a very popular character in that country; and this national predilection, after the victory of Roſbach, roſe to enthuſiaſm. That Monarch artfully affected to conſider the union of the two great Catholic powers, as a combination to oppreſs and ſubvert the Proteſtant intereſt in the Empire; and the people of England, to whom the name of Popery was ſtill formidable, delighted to applaud and extol this ſceptred infidel, as THE PROTESTANT HERO. Their feelings and principles were, at this criſis, equally intereſted. The national honor was concerned to efface the ſtain of the ignominious convention of Cloiſter-Seven, by which an army had been annihilated.

The ingratitude of the Queen of Hungary, whoſe obligations to England were of a nature and magnitude never to be forgotten, was the favorite theme of indignant declamation: Whilſt the courage, the talents, the ſucceſſes of the King of Pruſſia excited an involuntary admiration and partiality in the breaſt even of thoſe whoſe better judgment led them to condemn the whole tenor of his political conduct, as proceeding from a ſpirit of lawleſs and unprincipled ambition. It was not poſſible for Mr. Pitt to act with feebleneſs and indeciſion; and, if he reſolved to engage in a Germanic war, which, after the alliance concluded with Pruſſia, ſeemed a ſort of neceſſary appendage to the general ſyſtem *, he would at the ſame time reſolve to proſecute it with vigor and effect. This Miniſter diſcerned alſo the advantage which might eventually ariſe to the diſtant and multifarious

* "Is it poſſible, ſaid his Pruſſian Majeſty, in an expoſtulatory letter addreſſed at this criſis to the King of England, that your Majeſty can have ſo little fortitude and conſtancy, as to be diſpirited by a ſmall reverſe of fortune? Are affairs ſo ruinous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your Majeſty will conſider the ſtep you have made me hazard, and remember you are the ſole cauſe of thoſe misfortunes that now impend over my head. I ſhould never have abandoned the alliance with France, but for your flattering aſſurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your Majeſty; but I expect you will not ingloriouſly leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe."

operations

operations of Great Britain, from fixing the chief attention of France upon an object which, from local circumſtances, muſt be at all times more intereſting and important to that kingdom than to England. And he ſcrupled not, at a diſtant and ſubſequent period, to affirm, that "AMERICA had been conquered in GERMANY." And, upon the whole, it muſt perhaps be admitted, that the vaſt ſuperiority of force maintained by France in Germany, and which was attended with no real or permanent advantage, was the principal cauſe of her invariable inferiority in almoſt all other parts.

The diſbanded army being actually re-aſſembled at Stade, in November 1757, the command of it was conferred upon Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, brother to the reigning Duke. This able General immediately put his troops in motion, and though the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, he obtained ſeveral advantages over the enemy. Two conſiderable detachments from the French army were entirely defeated by Generals Schuylenburg and Zaſtrow, the town and caſtle of Harbourg reduced, and the cities of Lunenburg and Zell recovered; after which the two armies went into winter-quarters. In the courſe of the enſuing ſpring, the famous ſubſidy treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Pruſſia, by which the King of England engaged to pay into the hands of his Pruſſian Majeſty the annual ſum of 670,000l. or four millions

Mareſchal Broglio, his Serene Highneſs thought it neceſſary to repaſs that river, as well in order to ſupport the vanquiſhed army, as to meet the reinforcements from England, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, which were now landed at Embden. Accordingly a bridge was thrown over the river at Griethuyſen, and the Allies paſſed it on the tenth of Auguſt without loſs. The ſeaſon was ſo far advanced previous to the junction with the Britiſh forces, that no military operations of importance enſued during the remainder of the campaign between the two grand armies on the Rhine. On the Weſer, the Prince of Yſemburg was again worſted by Soubize and Broglio. Prince Ferdinand now entered into winter-quarters at Munſter, and the French again eſtabliſhed themſelves in Weſtphalia.

During theſe tranſactions the King of Pruſſia had his hands fully employed in Saxony and Bohemia. After the reduction of Schweidnitz, he began his march at the head of fifty thouſand men into Moravia, and laid ſiege to Olmutz, the capital of that Marquiſate. Mareſchal Daun immediately advanced to its relief, and, though he did not think proper to hazard a battle, he poſted himſelf in ſo judicious a ſituation, that the Pruſſians found it extremely difficult to carry on their operations, being themſelves kept in perpetual alarm. The garriſon alſo made ſeveral ſucceſsful ſallies, and the Auſtrian General

General having at length intercepted a great convoy of proviſions and ammunition, the King of Pruſſia found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of raiſing the ſiege, which he effected with ſuch ſecreſy and expedition as to have penetrated far into Bohemia, before it was known in the Auſtrian camp that he had loſt ſight of the walls of Olmutz. Mareſchal Daun immediately followed the Pruſſian Monarch into Bohemia, but found himſelf without an antagoniſt, his Majeſty having evacuated that kingdom at the approach of the Ruſſians, who had now entered Brandenburg in two large bodies, commanded by Generals Fermor and Browne, and ſpread terror and devaſtation wherever they appeared. A detail of the outrages perpetrated by theſe northern barbarians cannot be read, or related, without horror. In the courſe of this campaign, they plundered and deſtroyed fourteen large towns, and more than one hundred villages. The Pruſſians came up with them at Zorndorf, Auguſt 25*, when a deſperate engagement enſued. The battle began about noon, and laſted till night, when the Ruſſians gave way in great confuſion. As the Pruſſians gave no quarter, the ſlaughter was terrible. Nothwithſtanding this defeat, the Ruſſians continued extremely formidable. Upon the retreat of the King of Pruſſia from Bohemia, Mareſchal Daun had advanced towards the Elbe, and, being joined by the Prince of Deux Ponts at the

* A. D. 1758.

head

head of the army of the Empire, threatened to ſurround Prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded with much reputation and ability for the King his brother in Saxony: But his force was too weak to ſtop the progreſs of the Auſtrians, who took Konigſtein, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the ſtrong camp at Pirna. Immediately after the battle of Zorndorf, the King began his march to join the Prince; but, upon his arrival, found the Imperialiſts ſo ſtrongly entrenched, that they could not be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. However, he gained ſome trifling advantages, and diſlodged a corps of troops poſted in the village of Hochkirchen, which was immediately occupied by the Pruſſian army. But, in the middle of the night of the fourteenth of October, he was ſuddenly ſurpriſed in his camp by Mareſchal Daun; and, after a moſt ſevere and bloody conflict, maintained amidſt all the horrors of darkneſs and confuſion, he was obliged to leave the Auſtrians in poſſeſſion of the field and camp. Mareſchal Keith gloriouſly fell in the action. The Pruſſian Monarch, on this misfortune, retiring into Sileſia, the Auſtrians inveſted Dreſden. On their appearance, the Pruſſian Governor Schmettau ſet fire to the beautiful ſuburbs of that city. The King of Pruſſia, in his anſwer to the Saxon memorial preſented to the Diet on this ſubject, affected to feel the utmoſt diſtreſs and compaſſion at the ſituation of the inhabitants;

and

and lamented, in the moſt pathetic terms, that the neceſſities of war rendered unavoidable a meaſure ſo repugnant to thoſe principles of philanthropy which glowed in his royal breaſt. His Pruſſian Majeſty, after putting a ſtop to the progreſs of the Auſtrian arms in Sileſia, and raiſing the ſieges of Neiſſe and Coſel, returned to the relief of Dreſden more formidable than ever, being joined by a ſtrong body of troops, under the Generals Dohna and Wedel, the former of whom had been engaged in obſerving the motions of the Ruſſians, who had by this time, after attempting the ſiege of Colberg without ſucceſs, retired beyond the Viſtula. The latter had oppoſed the Swedes in Pomerania. The compaign in that province greatly reſembled that of the laſt year; for the Pruſſian Monarch being obliged to withdraw all his forces excepting thoſe in garriſon, the enemy not only recovered every thing they had loſt, but made bold incurſions into the Pruſſian territories, and even levied contributions within twenty miles of Berlin: But, at the approach of General Wedel, they evacuated their conqueſts with great precipitation, and their poſſeſſions in Pomerania at the end of the campaign were once more reduced to the city of Stralſund. The Pruſſian General being now at liberty to co-operate with the King, marched into Saxony, and raiſed the ſiege of Torgau; and, being afterwards joined by General Dohna, proceeded to the relief

ders ſufficiently explicit, choſe to apply to the Prince in perſon for an explanation; by which means, as well as by repeated orders to halt after the march was actually begun, ſo much time was loſt that the cavalry did not arrive ſoon enough to be of the leaſt ſervice. The allied army, however, without his Lordſhip's aſſiſtance, obtained a glorious victory. The Engliſh infantry, in particular, commanded by Generals Waldegrave and Kingſley, acquired immortal honor, not only ſuſtaining, with the utmoſt intrepidity, the repeated attacks made upon them, but, charging the enemy in their turn, totally broke and routed the gendarmerie, carabineers, and the choiceſt veterans of the French army. In this action M. Contades loſt ten thouſand men, together with forty-three pieces of large cannon, a great number of colors and ſtandards, and his own equipage and cabinet, containing papers of the utmoſt conſequence. The garriſon of Minden immediately ſurrendered at diſcretion. The very ſame day, a ſeparate corps, under the Duc de Briſſac, was totally defeated at Coveldt by the Hereditary Prince. The French army now began its retreat to Caſſel, which they ſoon abandoned, and fell back to Gieſſen, being exceedingly haraſſed during their march, and ſuffering much damage. The city of Munſter was now the only place in Weſtphalia which remained in the hands of the French. After in vain attempting

ing to reduce it by a bombardment and cannonade, the Allies inveſted it in form about the beginning of November, when it ſurrendered upon capitulation.

The Duc de Broglio had by this time aſſumed the command of the French army, M. Contades being recalled with ſome marks of diſgrace. The military talents of the new General had, in the courſe of the war, appeared very conſpicuous; but all his efforts to retrieve the ſuperiority loſt by the defeat of his predeceſſor at Minden proved ineffectual, and he would, in all probability, have been driven beyond the Rhine, had not the exigency of the King of Pruſſia's ſituation made it neceſſary to detach the Hereditary Prince into Saxony, with a large body of troops to his aſſiſtance. That heroic Monarch had experienced the uſual inconſtancy of fortune in this campaign, though it was opened with great *eclat* by Prince Henry, who, forcing a paſſage into Bohemia by way of Peterſwald, deſtroyed the Auſtrian magazines at Leutmeritz, and from thence penetrating into Franconia, drove the army of the Empire before him to Nuremberg, laid the country under contribution, and captured upwards of fifteen hundred priſoners. In the mean time, General Wedel had been ſent into Poland to oppoſe the progreſs of the Ruſſians, who had begun their march from the banks of the Viſtula; but, in an obſtinate engagement which took

place at Kaye near Zullichau, the Pruſſians were defeated with great loſs. The enemy immediately advanced into Brandenburg, and made themſelves maſters of the important city of Francfort upon the Oder. The King of Pruſſia, extremely alarmed at their ſucceſs, ordered a detachment of ten thouſand men from the grand camp in Sileſia to join the army under General Wedel, who had been alſo reinforced by about the ſame number under General Finck; and the King took upon himſelf the command of the whole, amounting to fifty thouſand men. The Ruſſians, to the number of eighty thouſand, were ſtrongly entrenched at Cunerſdorf; but the King's affairs requiring a deſperate effort, he determined to attack them in their camp, and, about eleven in the morning of the twelfth of Auguſt*, the action was begun with an heavy cannonade; after which the Pruſſians charged the left wing of the Ruſſian army with ſo much vigor, that, after a furious conteſt of ſix hours, they forced the entrenchments with great ſlaughter, and ſeventy pieces of cannon fell into their hands. The battle was now looked upon as decided, and the King, in the firſt tranſports of his joy, diſpatched the following billet to the Queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Ruſſians from their entrenchments—in two hours more expect to hear of a glorious victory." But he ſoon found himſelf fatally miſtaken. The Ruſſian General Soltikoff exerting all

* 1759.

his

his powers, rallied his troops upon an eminence under cover of a redoubt; and his artillery, which was ſtill greatly ſuperior to that of the Pruſſians, was planted ſo judiciouſly as to render his ſituation almoſt impregnable. However, the King was reſolved to hazard a freſh attack, though againſt the advice of all his Generals. His infantry being repulſed in repeated aſſaults, the cavalry were ordered to ſucceed to the charge, but with no better ſucceſs. At length the Ruſſian cavalry, and a body of twelve thouſand Auſtrian horſe, under M. Laudohn, who had joined Soltikoff juſt before the engagement, and had hitherto remained inactive, ſeeing the Pruſſians diſcouraged and exhauſted, fell in amongſt them ſword in hand with ſuch fury, that, in a ſhort time, the Pruſſians were totally routed and diſperſed, notwithſtanding the extraordinary efforts of the King, who expoſed his life in the hotteſt parts of the engagement, had two horſes ſhot under him, and his clothes ſhattered with muſket balls. Nothing but the approach of night could have ſaved him from total ruin. On leaving the field of battle, he diſpatched a ſecond billet to the Queen, expreſſed in theſe terms: "Remove from Berlin with the royal family. Let the archives be carried to Potzdam. The town may make conditions with the enemy." This was by far the moſt bloody action that had happened ſince the commencement of hoſtilities. Thirty thou-

ſand men were left dead on the field, of whom two-thirds were Pruſſians. No leſs than twelve Generals were killed or wounded in this engagement, and the King of Pruſſia left his whole train of artillery in the hands of the Ruſſians. This, however, was ſoon replaced from the arſenal at Berlin; and by his indefatigable diligence in recruiting his army, which was farther ſtrengthened by the recal of General Kleiſt from Pomerania, he ſoon retrieved his importance.

During theſe tranſactions, Prince Henry had gained ſeveral advantages over the army of the Empire, which again entering Saxony, had taken poſſeſſion of the city of Dreſden; and alſo over the Auſtrian army co-operating with them under General Haddick. The Prince being at length joined by his Pruſſian Majeſty, General Finck was detached with a ſtrong body of forces to cut off the retreat of the Auſtrians into Bohemia. But this meaſure proved a moſt unfortunate one; for Mareſchal Daun receiving intelligence of General Finck's remote and iſolated poſition, immediately reſolved upon an aſſault: And dividing his forces into four columns, he conducted his march with ſuch ſecreſy and expedition, that the Pruſſians found themſelves entirely ſurrounded before they had entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of being attacked. In this emergency, they fought with great bravery; but at length, overpowered by numbers and

deſtitute of the poſſibility of relief, they were compelled to ſurrender priſoners of war to the amount of 19 battalions and 35 ſquadrons. It was at this critical period that the Pruſſian Monarch was joined by the Hereditary Prince, without whoſe aſſiſtance it was feared he would have found himſelf unable any longer to cope with ſuch numerous and powerful adverſaries. The approach of winter at laſt freed him from any farther apprehenſions from the Ruſſians, who retired into their old quarters in Poland. As to the Swedes, they had fortunately been extremely inactive during the whole campaign, and, after ſome idle and fruitleſs excurſions, had retreated as uſual into the neighbourhood of Stralſund.

In ſpite of all his loſſes, the King of Pruſſia ſtill kept his ground in Saxony; and even his enemies could not help expreſſing their admiration of that heroic fortitude and invincible perſeverance which ſupported him amidſt all the dangers and difficulties of a ſituation, by univerſal acknowlegement, unparalleled in the annals of Europe.

The Court of Verſailles had made great preparations for a vigorous campaign in Weſtphalia the enſuing ſummer*. The grand army, under Mareſchal Broglio, was reinforced to the number of one hundred thouſand men; and the Count de St. Germaine commanded a ſeparate corps of about thirty thouſand. The Hereditary Prince, who had

* 1760.

rejoined the allied army early in the ſpring (1760), met with a mortifying repulſe at Corbach, in a too adventurous aſſault upon the Count de St. Germaine; but he had ſoon an opportunity of retrieving his honor at Exdorf, where, on the ſixteenth of July, he attacked a numerous body of the enemy under General Glaubitz, who were totally defeated after a very warm action, five whole battalions being taken priſoners, including the Commander, with their arms, baggage, and artillery. Elliot's regiment of light-horſe appeared, for the firſt time, in the field upon this occaſion; and, to the aſtoniſhment of the veteran troops, charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge. This advantage was ſucceeded by another of ſtill greater conſequence; for the Chevalier Muy, who commanded the reſerve of the French army, amounting to thirty-five thouſand men, being ordered to paſs the Dymel, with a view to cut off the communication of the allied army, then poſted near Caſſel, with Weſtphalia, Prince Ferdinand immediately decamped and followed him; and, on the thirty-firſt of July, made ſo maſterly a diſpoſition of his forces, that M. de Muy, who then lay encamped near the village of Warbourg, found himſelf at once attacked in flank, front, and rear. The French retreated ſo precipitately, that the Engliſh infantry could not arrive in time to have any ſhare in the action; but the cavalry, with the Marquis of

Granby

Granby at their head, diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the moſt honorable manner. The General of the Allies, however, being obliged, in conſequence of this movement, to leave the Landgraviate of Heſſe expoſed to the enemy's attack, Mareſchal Broglio made himſelf maſter of Caſſel, and even reduced Munden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the Electorate of Hanover. Notwithſtanding the capture of theſe towns, the ſuperiority acquired by the late victory enabled the Engliſh General to detach the Hereditary Prince on an expedition to the Lower Rhine, which was by no means productive of the advantages expected from it. The city of Cleves, being weakly garriſoned, made little reſiſtance; but at Weſel, which place he next inveſted, he met with a much warmer reception than he looked for; and his operations alſo being much retarded by heavy rains, he found it impracticable to carry the place before the arrival of a very ſuperior force, detached from the French army, under M. de Caſtries, for its relief. The ſiege being raiſed, an engagement enſued near Campen, in which the Prince ſuſtained conſiderable loſs; notwithſtanding which, he repaſſed the river in the face of the enemy without moleſtation, and rejoined the main army, which had been ineffectually employed in the blockade of Gottingen; ſoon after which, Prince Ferdinand retired into winter-quarters, leaving the enemy in

poſſeſſion of the whole country eaſtward of the Weſer.

The King of Pruſſia, on his part, had made ſurpriſing exertions during the whole of this campaign. Whilſt the two grand hoſtile armies remained ſtrongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Dreſden, General Laudohn made great progreſs in the reduction of Sileſia, by defeating a ſtrong body of troops under General Fouquet, and taking the important town of Glatz, which contained an immenſe magazine of military ſtores; after which he inveſted Breſlau. But Count Tavenſtein the governor, by making a moſt reſolute defence, gave opportunity to Prince Henry, of marching to its relief. Such was the expedition of the Pruſſian General, that he marched one hundred and thirty Engliſh miles in five days, and at his approach Laudohn abandoned his enterprize, after laying the city in aſhes by a furious cannonade and bombardment, by which he hoped to intimidate the governor to a ſurrender. The King of Pruſſia himſelf, after beſieging in vain the city of Dreſden, marched into Sileſia, whither he was followed by Count Daun; and advancing to Lignitz, with a view to effect a junction with the Prince, who ſtill remained at Breſlau, he found himſelf in imminent danger of being ſurrounded, Mareſchal Daun being poſted in front, General Laudohn on his left, and General Laſcy on his right; the grand

grand army of the Ruſſians, under Mareſchal Soltikoff, being alſo on their march to co-operate with the Auſtrians. In this emergency he determined rather to give battle than wait the attack; and, after taking the neceſſary precautions for the ſafety of his camp, he made a movement to the left with the greater part of his forces, in the evening of the 14th of Auguſt *, with an intention of ſurprizing General Laudohn, who, in conſequence of a plan formed by Mareſchal Daun, of which his Pruſſian Majeſty had obtained previous intimation, was at the very ſame time on his march, to ſurprize the King. The two armies met about two o'clock in the morning, between the villages of Pſaffendorff and Lignitz, and after a very ſharp action, which laſted till ſix, the Auſtrians gave ground, and were purſued to a conſiderable diſtance: But Mareſchal Daun, who, in the execution of his part of the plan, had marched to the right of the Pruſſian camp, finding the tents apparently deſerted, and hearing the remote reverberation of cannon, inſtantly conjectured the nature of the King's manœuvre, and haſtened, but in vain, to the relief of Laudohn, the Auſtrians being previouſly and totally routed.

By this victory the King opening himſelf a paſſage to Breſlau, joined his brother Prince Henry, at Neumarcke, and they immediately began their

* 1760.

march

march to Schweidnitz, now closely blockaded by the Austrians, who retired at their approach with some precipitation to the mountains of Landshut. But while the King and Prince triumphed in Silesia, General Hulsen, who had been left in Saxony, found great difficulty in maintaining his ground against the Imperial army, under the Prince of Deux-Ponts. And the Swedes, who had surprized and killed General Manteuffle in the beginning of the year, now ravaged all Pomerania, without meeting any opposition. But the sufferings of the Pomeranians were inconsiderable in comparison of those which the Electorate of Brandenburg, and even the city of Berlin itself, experienced: For a grand detachment of the Russian army, under Count Czernicheff, penetrating into the Marche on one side, and a numerous body of Austrians, under the Generals Lascy and Brentano, on the other, joined their forces in the neighbourhood of that capital, which being of great extent, and imperfectly fortified, could make but a very feeble resistance; the garrison, to the amount of twelve hundred men, being compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Russian and Austrian troops no sooner entered the place than they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thousand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thousand German crowns.

These

Theſe exorbitant impoſitions the inhabitants were obliged to comply with, in order to ſave the city from total deſtruction. However, neither their compliance, nor the united efforts of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian Generals, could prevent the Coſſacks, Croats, and other irregular troops, from being guilty of the moſt atrocious exceſſes. Not contented with demoliſhing the public magazines, arſenals, founderies, and hoſpitals, many hundred private houſes were broke into and plundered, during the few days they remained there; for, upon hearing that the King was in full march to the relief of his capital, they abandoned the city, and taking different routes, they laid the whole country deſolate in their retreat. The havock made by them in the royal caſtle of Charlottenburg would have diſgraced an army of Goths and Vandals. The rich and coſtly furniture of that ſplendid palace was totally deſtroyed; and even the celebrated collection of paintings and ſtatues, made by the Cardinal de Polignac, and depoſited in this place, was miſerably deſpoiled and disfigured. The King was followed by Mareſchal Daun, at the head of one hundred thouſand men. The Pruſſian army, after the junction with General Hulſen, amounted to eighty thouſand. Notwithſtanding this inferiority, the King determined to riſque a battle; and indeed the ſituation of his affairs ſeemed to render ſome deſperate effort neceſſary: For at this time

time General Laudohn was at the head of a numerous army in Sileſia, and the Ruſſians, who ſtill threatened Breſlau, had actually laid ſiege to Colberg, whilſt the Prince of Deux-Ponts, at the head of the army of the Empire, being joined by General Laſcy, had made himſelf maſter of Saxony, and the Swedes continued their ravages, uncontrolled, in Pomerania.

On the 3d day of November *, the whole Pruſſian army advanced towards the Auſtrians, advantageouſly poſted at Torgau, upon the banks of the Elbe, their front being fortified with two hundred pieces of cannon; but the King giving his troops to underſtand that they had no alternative but to conquer or die, they charged the enemy with the moſt deſperate intrepidity. The victory, however, remained in ſuſpenſe, till General Zeithen, who had taken a circuit with part of the right wing of the Pruſſians, fell upon the rear of the Auſtrian army, which then began to give way, in ſome diſorder; but Mareſchal Daun receiving a dangerous wound, which obliged him to quit the field, the confuſion became general. The darkneſs of the night, however, favored the retreat of the Auſtrians acroſs the Elbe, over which they had previouſly thrown three bridges of boats, leaving the field of battle dearly purchaſed in the hands of the enemy. In conſequence of this defeat, Mareſchal Daun being under the neceſſity of recalling his detachments,

* 1760.

General

General Laudohn abandoned Landſhut, and his other acquiſitions in Sileſia. The Ruſſians alſo, at the approach of winter, which the King ſtyled his beſt auxiliary, raiſed the ſiege of Colberg, and retired to their cantonments in Poland, the Swedes into their old quarters near Stralſund, and the Imperialiſts into Franconia; ſo that the King of Pruſſia found himſelf nearly in the ſame ſituation as at the beginning of the campaign. That Monarch was deſervedly regarded both by friends and foes, as a prodigy of fortitude, genius, and courage; but his uncommon abilities only ſerved to prolong the war, and the inhabitants of the Empire at large, who would have been happy had any deciſive advantage been gained on either ſide, could now ſee no proſpect of an end to their calamities.

Early in the ſpring of 1761, Prince Ferdinand opened the campaign with the ſieges of Ziegenhayn and Caſſel, hoping to reduce them before Mareſchal Broglio ſhould receive his reinforcements; but the garriſons making a vigorous reſiſtance, and part of the allied army under the Hereditary Prince being defeated near Heimbach, his Serene Highneſs found himſelf obliged to withdraw his troops and ſtand upon the defenſive. The army under Mareſchal Broglio being at length recruited, and in a condition to take the field, Prince Ferdinand retired behind the Dymel, and eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed his head-quarters at Paderborn. The Duc de Broglio having paſſed that river in June, drove General Sporcken from the poſt he occupied on the left ſide, and made himſelf maſter of Warbourg and Paderborn, and compelled Prince Ferdinand to retire behind the Lippe. On the 15th July, in the evening, the French army made a furious attack upon the left wing of the allies poſted at Fellinghauſen, commanded by the Marquis of Granby, and being repulſed with conſiderable loſs, they renewed the attack at dawn of day with redoubled vigor; but finding that no impreſſion could be made by their repeated efforts, their ardor began to abate: And at length, upon being charged by the Marquis in his turn, with great ſpirit, they abandoned the field in confuſion, leaving behind them four thouſand men dead on the ſpot.

Immediately after this action, the French Generals divided their forces; the Prince de Soubize retreating to Dortmund, and Mareſchal Broglio marching back to Caſſel. In a ſhort time that General paſſed the Weſer, with an intention of penetrating into the Electorate of Hanover; but on the approach of Prince Ferdinand he repaſſed that river with the greater part of his army: However, a detachment, under the command of the Count de Broglio his brother, by a forced march, took poſſeſſion of Wolfenbuttle, and inveſted Brunſwick;

wick; but the Hereditary Prince, flying to the relief of his father's capital, obliged the beſiegers to relinquiſh this enterprize. For the reſt of the campaign Mareſchal Broglio remained inactive in his camp, and Prince Ferdinand not being able to force him to a battle, retired into winter cantonments in the vicinity of Munſter and Oſnaburg.

The ſpring * was far advanced before hoſtilities commenced in Saxony and Sileſia. Warineſs, and caution ſeemed to ſucceed to that ſpirit of enterprize and activity which had ſo long prevailed. The grand armies, on each ſide, were ſo ſtrongly poſted that neither choſe to riſque the attack. The Imperialiſts, attempting to enter Saxony, were repulſed by General Seydlitz; but a numerous body of Ruſſians, commanded by General Romanzoff, could not be prevented from penetrating into Pomerania, in July, and inveſting Colberg by land, whilſt it was blocked up by a powerful ſquadron at ſea. Their main army was ſoon after put in motion, and all the efforts of his Pruſſian Majeſty could not prevent its junction with Laudohn; and now the ruin of that Monarch was again confidently predicted. If any event could make his affairs apparently more deſperate, it was the loſs of Schweidnitz, which General, now Mareſchal Laudohn, ſurpriſed about this time, by a very brilliant *coup*

* 1761.

de main. Prince Henry of Pruſſia, who commanded in Saxony, by an uncommon diſplay of military ſkill, prevented Mareſchal Daun, who was at the head of a much ſuperior army, from obtaining any advantage; that General was even obliged, in an attempt to ſtorm the Pruſſian camp, to retreat with conſiderable loſs, ſoon after which both armies were diſtributed into quarters of cantonment.

The fatal conſequences which had been apprehended from the ſo much dreaded junction of the Auſtrian and Ruſſian armies, did not however take place, and the Ruſſian General ſoon perceived, or at leaſt aſſerted, the neceſſity of ſeparating, in order to cover his magazines in Poland, which were vigorouſly attacked by a large detachment from the Pruſſian army under General Platen. But the ſiege of Colberg ſtill continued with unabating ardor. General Romanzoff ſeemed even to ſet the winter at defiance, and, in the proſecution of his deſign, gave early proofs of thoſe great talents which have ſince rendered his name ſo illuſtrious. At length the place ſurrendered, Dec. 17 (1761), a conqueſt of ſingular importance, as it enabled the Court of St. Peterſburg, at all times, to ſend ſupplies and reinforcements to their armies in Germany by ſea; and the Ruſſian General eſtabliſhed his head-quarters in Pomerania, during the winter, with a view of taking the field early in the enſuing ſpring.

The

The French Court reſolving to exert their utmoſt efforts in Weſtphalia, aſſembled a vaſt army upon the banks of the Weſer (A. D. 1762), under the Prince de Soubize and the Count d'Eſtreés. Prince Ferdinand lay encamped behind the Dymel, watching their motions and waiting the favorable moment for an attack. At length, on the 24th June, the enemy being then poſted at Grabenſtein, a diſpoſition was made for that purpoſe; the Prince himſelf croſſing the river to charge in front, and Generals Luckner and Sporcken being ſeverally detached to fall upon them at the ſame time in flank and rear. This plan was executed with ſuch ſucceſs, that the French army was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion; and the French Generals, after a ſhort reſiſtance, gave orders for ſtriking the tents, and ſounding a retreat; but ſuch was the impetuoſity of the aſſailants, that in all probability a total defeat would have enſued, had not Monſ. de Stainville, with the moſt heroic gallantry and preſence of mind, collected ſome regiments, conſiſting of the flower of the French infantry, with which he made ſo reſolute a ſtand at the paſs of Wilhemſthal, that he effectually covered the retreat of the two Mareſchals, who retired without much loſs under the cannon of Caſſel; but the corps under his command was either cut to pieces, or taken priſoners. The Marquis of Granby, who commanded the reſerve of the allied

army, and was closely engaged with Stainville, distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. In consequence of this defeat, the French Generals abandoned Gottingen, after demolishing the fortifications, which they had erected at an immense expense, and retired to Melsungen, in order to preserve the communication with Francfort; but on the approach of the Prince they thought proper to pass the Fulda rather than hazard another battle, and the post of Melsungen was occupied by the Allies.

In the month of July, Monsr. de Stainville, at the head of several regiments of dragoons, fell into an ambuscade at Merschen, and his whole corps was totally routed and dispersed. But the joy occasioned by those various successes was somewhat damped by an unfortunate enterprize of the Hereditary Prince, who, prompted by youthful impetuosity, attacking with very inferior force the Prince of Condé, on his march from the Lower Rhine to join Soubize, was not only defeated, but so dangerously wounded that he was rendered incapable of taking any active part in the operations of the remaining part of the campaign. Prince Ferdinand now determined to lay siege to Cassel, and the French Generals perceiving his intentions, made repeated efforts to throw supplies into the place; but were effectually prevented by the vigilance and activity of that able commander. The trenches were opened

ed on the 16th October, and the operations carried on with ſuch vigor, that notwithſtanding the place was defended with great bravery, by the Baron de Dieſbach, the governor, he found himſelf obliged to ſign a capitulation on the 1ſt November, when the garriſon marched out with all the honors of war.

His Serene Highneſs intended to have cloſed the campaign with the ſiege of Zeigenhayn, which was the only fortreſs in Heſſe now poſſeſſed by the French; but his preparations were interrupted by the ceſſation of arms which took place at this period, immediately on ſigning the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France. Thus ended the military career of that celebrated commander, after he had, in the courſe of ſix ſucceſſive and proſperous campaigns, exhibited to the world the moſt convincing proofs of his conſummate knowledge of the art of war.

On the 2d of January 1762, died Elizabeth Empreſs of Ruſſia, by which fortunate event the moſt formidable and inveterate of all the enemies of the Pruſſian Monarch were converted into friends and allies; for her ſucceſſor Peter III.—a prince of the Houſe of Holſtein, and a deſcendant of the elder daughter of Peter the Great—entertained ſo enthuſiaſtic an attachment to that hero, that he not only concluded a treaty of peace, but ſent expreſs orders to the Ruſſian commanders to co-ope-

rate with him; and a body of troops under Count Czernicheff actually joined the Pruſſian army. The Swedes alſo, by his example, were induced to accede to terms of accommodation.

In the beginning of May, Prince Henry unexpectedly paſſing the Muldaw, ſurprized the left wing of the Auſtrian camp; on which occaſion General Zetzwitz was taken priſoner, with fifteen hundred men, after which the Prince made himſelf maſter of Freyburg; and in the beginning of June repulſed the Auſtrians, who made a ſudden attack upon his camp, with great loſs. In Sileſia, the King, now ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of the Ruſſians, as well as by the troops he had withdrawn from Pomerania, advanced towards Count Daun, who retired at his approach, and left a free paſſage for the Pruſſians, who inveſted Schweidnitz on the 8th of Auguſt, notwithſtanding the ſeceſſion of the Ruſſians, who in conſequence of a ſurprizing revolution that had taken place at the Court of St. Peterſburg, were no longer at liberty to co-operate with him. This was no other than the depoſition of the reigning Emperor, by his own conſort Catherine of Anhalt, a woman of great talents, courage, and ambition, whoſe juſt reſentment he had fatally provoked. This enterprize was conducted with wonderful ſecreſy, reſolution, and diſpatch. The Emperor was indulging himſelf in the moſt perfect eaſe and ſecurity,

ſecurity, at his country palace of Oranjebaum, when the Empreſs ſuddenly appearing before it, at the head of ten thouſand men, ſummoned him to ſurrender. With this demand he inſtantly complied with the moſt abject puſillanimity, though he was accompanied with his Holſtein Guards, and in a condition to have made a vigorous defence. He was immediately ſent, under a ſtrong eſcort, to the caſtle of Peterſhoff, where, in a few days, he was carried off by *a ſudden illneſs*. This revolution was not productive of the leaſt diſcontent or diſorder, in any part of that vaſt empire, the follies and vices of the late Czar having rendered him the object of the public contempt and deteſtation. The Empreſs Catherine, though ſhe would not grant any aſſiſtance to the Pruſſian Monarch, was by no means inclined to recommence the war, and the Ruſſian armies immediately began their march to their own country.

The ſiege of Schweidnitz was now carried on with great vigor; and a mine being ſprung by the beſiegers, on the 8th of October, in conſequence of which great part of the wall was thrown into the foſſé, and preparations made for a general aſſault, Count de Guaſco, the Governor, thought proper to beat the *chamade*, and he, with the whole garriſon, were made priſoners of war. The Imperial and Auſtrian armies in Saxony had, during the progreſs of the ſiege, defeated a body of

troops under General Belling, and retaken Freyburg; but Prince Henry receiving a ſtrong reinforcement from Sileſia, attacked the combined forces under the command of the Prince of Stolberg, at break of day, on the 29th Oct. (1762): The action laſted till two o'clock in the afternoon, when the enemy being entirely routed, abandoned the field of battle, and the town of Freyburg, with the loſs of five thouſand men.

A ſuſpenſion of arms between the Courts of Vienna and Berlin, taking place ſoon afterwards, this was the laſt ſervice performed in the field by Prince Henry, in the courſe of this war, in which he had repeatedly diſplayed all the qualities of an accompliſhed general. And if the Monarch was celebrated for his ſpirit of enterprize, for a genius fertile in reſources, for his wonderful activity, and for a valor almoſt approaching to deſperation, the Prince was not leſs remarkable for his cool intrepidity, his ſagacity, his firmneſs, and vigilance. The ſuſpenſion of arms was quickly followed by the treaty of Hubertſburg, the moſt material article of which imported, that all conqueſts on each ſide ſhould be evacuated, and peace re-eſtabliſhed on the footing of former treaties. Such was the iſſue of a war in which two hundred and fifty thouſand lives were ſacrificed, an immenſity of treaſure expended, and the faireſt provinces of the Empire reduced to a ſtate of ruin and deſolation.

We

We are now at liberty to advert to the civil and political tranſactions by which the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt was diſtinguiſhed. Amongſt the firſt and moſt remarkable of which we may reckon the eſtabliſhment of a national militia: A meaſure highly popular and patriotic; though the plan itſelf, which was calculated for the emergency of the occaſion, and which has never ſuffered any eſſential alteration, muſt be acknowleged extremely crude, imperfect, and defective. Nor is it to be imagined that a comprehenſive and effectual ſyſtem of national defence, is to be ſupported at ſo ſmall an expence as the inſignificant ſum allotted for this moſt important purpoſe, and which is ſcarcely equal to the uſual amount of a retaining fee to a German Elector. The number of men was originally fixed by the Houſe of Commons at ſixty-four thouſand, but by the Houſe of Lords reduced to thirty-two thouſand. The grand and radical defect of this plan is, that a ſervice which ought to be ſought as a privilege, is impoſed as an obligation. This national army is abſurdly and arbitrarily ſelected from the general maſs of the community, by lot, or, in other words, by a blind and indiſcriminate compulſion; ſo that it neceſſarily exhibits a bizarre and fortuitous combination of alacrity and ſullenneſs, of imbecility and vigor. Were regular and reaſonable pay allowed to each man, in the intervals of actual ſervice, thoſe who are beſt qualified

to

to ſerve would voluntarily and cheerfully enrol themſelves, and the kingdom would be defended not by the refuſe, but by the choice and flower of the nation. And with proper attention to diſcipline, theſe troops might ſoon be raiſed nearly or entirely to a level with the regulars of the ſervice. In fact, the ſtanding army of Pruſſia is at this day no other than a well-regulated national militia, adapted to the circumſtances of that country. And were a national militia correſponding to the circumſtances of this kingdom once eſtabliſhed, the far greater part of the preſent formidable and unconſtitutional ſtanding army might be ſafely diſbanded. And though it is remote from the province of hiſtory to deſcend to ſpecific or minute calculation, it might be eaſily demonſtrated, that the expence of ſuch an eſtabliſhment would not equal the amount of the ſums annually voted by Parliament, for maintaining poſſeſſion of the barren rock of Gibraltar, the unjuſt retention of which, notwithſtanding the plain dictates of common ſenſe, and the dear-bought experience of Calais, Dunkirk, Port Mahon, and Tangier, we ſtill continue with credulous enthuſiaſm to believe eſſential to the national proſperity and welfare.

In the ſummer of 1757, the Empreſs-Queen recalled her Miniſter, Count Coloredo, from London; and at the ſame time notified to Mr. Keith, the Engliſh Miniſter at Vienna, her determination

tion to break off all correſpondence with the King of England, declaring that ſhe could not ſee with indifference his Britannic Majeſty enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Pruſſia, inſtead of aſſiſting her with the ſuccors due by the moſt ſolemn treaties.

The French intereſt in Holland prevailing at this time in an alarming degree, Sir Joſeph Yorke, the Engliſh Ambaſſador at the Hague, was ordered to repreſent to the States-General the aſtoniſhment of the King of England, at the permiſſion given by their High Mightineſſes, for the free paſſage of a large train of warlike implements and ſtores through Namur and Maeſtricht, for the uſe of the French army; and ſtill more at their tame acquieſcence in the ſurrender of Oſtend and Nieuport, by the Empreſs-Queen, to the French, in direct contravention of the barrier treaty, and of the treaty of Utrecht, which expreſsly declare, that no fortreſs, town, or territory, of the Auſtrian Low Countries, ſhall be ceded or transferred to the Crown of France, upon any pretext whatever. The States, however, were not inclined to deviate from their profeſſed ſyſtem of neutrality; and they alleged, without reſerve or heſitation, their inability to prevent theſe infractions of former treaties, as ſufficiently excuſing, or rather juſtifying their connivance at them.

At

At the meeting of Parliament, December 1757, the King, in his ſpeech from the throne, mentioned the late happy ſucceſſes in Germany, and recommended "that his good brother and ally, the King of Pruſſia, might be aſſiſted in ſuch a manner as his magnanimity and zeal for the common cauſe appeared to deſerve; expreſſing his firm reliance on the zeal of his faithful Commons for the ſupport of the *Proteſtant religion*, and of the liberties of Europe." The anſwer of the Commons was in the higheſt degree dutiful and loyal; and the ſupplies, amounting to conſiderably more than ten millions, voted almoſt without the formality of a debate—Sir Francis Daſhwood only venturing to expreſs his total diſſent from, and diſapprobation of, the meaſures now adopted*. How the Proteſtant religion was concerned in the diſputes of the preſent belligerent powers, it ſeemed, in particular,

* In a debate of the Houſe of Commons ſeveral years ſubſequent to this period, Mr. Pitt declared, that every Seſſion during his adminiſtration, he called out, "Has any body any objection to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one Gentleman only excepted, ſince removed to the Upper Houſe by ſucceſſion to an antient Barony (Sir Francis Daſhwood, now Lord Le Deſpencer); he told me he did not like a German war; I honored the man for it, and was ſorry when he was turned out of his poſt." On another occaſion, he affirmed, "that it was impoſſible, after the treaties made with the King of Pruſſia, to leave that Monarch to the mercy of his enemies; and that he entered into office with the German war tied like a mill-ſtone about his neck."

far

far beyond the reach of men of *common underſtandings* to comprehend. It was notorious that Saxony, long accounted the firſt Proteſtant power in Germany, was ruined and deſolated by the *Proteſtant Hero*; that the Swedes, who have ever diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal in defence of the Proteſtant faith, were themſelves parties in this pretended confederacy againſt Proteſtantiſm; that Denmark and Holland diſcovered no particular ſymptoms of alarm on this occaſion, though as little inclined to advance the intereſts, or extend the power, of Popery, as Great Britain itſelf.

The reſentment of Holland was, at this period, inflamed in a very high degree againſt England, in conſequence of the numerous ſeizures made by the Engliſh of Dutch veſſels, employed in carrying naval ſtores and tranſporting merchandize, the produce of the French iſlands, to Europe. A memorial, to which was affixed a prodigious number of commercial ſignatures of the firſt conſequence, was preſented to the States General, in which their High Mightineſſes are ſtrongly urged to protect the commerce and navigation of the republic by an armed force. The King of England, on the other hand, declared, by his Ambaſſador, that he would not ſuffer an illicit and injurious trade to be carried on under the ſpecious pretext of neutrality. And the wiſdom and moderation of the Princeſs Governante ſcarcely ſufficed to prevent an open rupture.

The

The death of that Princeſs, which took place at the beginning of the enſuing year, was the ſubject of real and equal regret to both nations.

In the month of Auguſt 1758, a decree of the Aulic Council was publiſhed, enjoining all Directories of Circles, Imperial cities, &c. to tranſmit to Vienna an exact account of thoſe who had diſobeyed the *avocatoria* of the Empire, and adhered to the REBELLION raiſed by the Elector of Brandenburg, that their revenues might be ſequeſtered, and themſelves puniſhed in their honors, perſons, and effects. The King of England, knowing himſelf to be chiefly aimed at in this decree, preſented, by his Miniſter Baron Gemmingen, a ſpirited memorial to the Diet of the Empire, enumerating the important ſervices which he had rendered to the Houſe of Auſtria, for which he had even expoſed his life in the field of battle; in return for which the Empreſs-Queen had formed an alliance with France for the invaſion of his Electorate: And the Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the cauſe of her Imperial Majeſty, was compelled to fight at Haſtenbeck againſt the troops of that Princeſs, in defence of his father's dominions. That the King of England was threatened with the ban of the Empire for not complying with the reſolutions of the Diet for aſſembling an army, although the conduct of the Imperial Court rendered it indiſpenſable to his ſafety to retain his

troops for the protection of his ſubjects. He acknowleged that, in quality of King of England, and for juſt reaſons, he had ſent over Engliſh troops to Germany, and had taken poſſeſſion of Embden; for which he was accountable to no power upon earth. And he expreſſed his hope that the Diet would, upon deliberate advice, not only exhort the Emperor to recal or annul his recent mandates, but inſtitute ſuch proceedings againſt the Empreſs-Queen, in the quality of Arch-ducheſs of Auſtria, as ſhe wiſhed to enforce againſt the King of England, as Elector of Hanover." The original aggreſſion of the laws of the Empire reſted, after all, ſolely and plainly with the King of Pruſſia, who was as clearly ſupported and defended in his contumacy by the King of England; and if theſe two Monarchs, as Members of the Germanic Body, were at liberty to diſobey and contemn the decrees of the Diet, the Germanic Conſtitution was no more. No common centre of union remained by which that vaſt body could exerciſe its ſovereign authority, or even demonſtrate its political exiſtence. The Diet, however, wiſely choſe to refrain, in preſent circumſtances, from the aſſumption of a prerogative which they were in no condition to enforce. And the numberleſs memorials, and counter-memorials, publiſhed in the courſe of this war, ſerved to little other purpoſe than to ſhew the extraordinary degree of animoſity and rancor by which

which the belligerent powers were univerſally actuated.

In the courſe of this year died the celebrated Proſper Lambertini, who, on his elevation to the Papal chair, A. D. 1740, aſſumed the name of Benedict XIV. The good ſenſe, candor, and moderation, of this amiable Pontiff, made him ſcarcely leſs the ſubject of eſteem and veneration in the Proteſtant than the Catholic ſtates of Europe. But, unfortunately, his political influence was too weak to enable him to compoſe thoſe differences by which Chriſtendom had been ſo long diſgraced and deſolated. He was ſucceeded in the Papacy by Cardinal Rezzonico, Biſhop of Padua, who took the name of Clement XIII. And the new Pope found an early opportunity of diſplaying his weakneſs and bigotry, by ſending a conſecrated banner, accompanied with his Apoſtolic benediction, to the Auſtrian General Count Daun. A recent attempt, ſcarcely worthy of hiſtoric notice, as neither ariſing from any political cauſe, nor producing any political effect, had been made on the life of the King of France, by an inſane fanatic of the name of Damien, who, in conſequence of this crime, expired in torments, the national ſufferance, and, much more, the national approval of which, in the view of reaſon and humanity, degraded the character of the moſt poliſhed and civilized country on the globe to a temporary level with that of the Onondagas

dagas and Cherokees. In the autumn of the preſent year, a royal aſſaſſination in all its circumſtances much more extraordinary and intereſting, the full extent and myſterious nature of which have never been perfectly developed, was attempted on the perſon of his Moſt Faithful Majeſty, who paſſing, September 3, in his carriage over a ſolitary ſpot near the palace of Belem, was fired at and dangerouſly wounded by two villains on horſeback, one of whom made his eſcape; the other being put to the queſtion, impeached the Duc d'Aveiro, Preſident of the palace, the Marquis and Marchioneſs of Tavora, the Count d'Atouguia, and ſeveral other perſons of the higheſt rank, as parties in this conſpiracy, who were accordingly tried, convicted, and ſuffered ſentence of death on the ſcaffold. It appearing, from undoubted evidence, that the Jeſuits, who had been for ſome time paſt in diſgrace at Court, were the principal inſtigators to this wicked attempt, the effects and property of the whole order were ſequeſtered, and a decree of baniſhment finally iſſued againſt them.

The Parliament of England being convened in November (1758), the Lord Keeper Henley made a ſpeech to both Houſes, by command of his Majeſty, in which the ſucceſſes of the year were oſtentatiouſly enumerated; and the Commons were anew exhorted vigorouſly to ſupport the King of Pruſſia, and the reſt of his Majeſty's Allies. The

expenſe incurred by England at this time for the payment of ſubſidies, and the maintenance of armies in Germany alone, exceeded three millions ſterling; which immenſe ſum, as well as all the other ſupplies demanded by the Miniſter, were now voted almoſt as a matter of courſe. Towards the termination of the Seſſion, May 1759, the King informed the two Houſes, by meſſages delivered by Lord Holderneſs and Mr. Pitt, the two Secretaries of State, that he had received authentic advice of preparations making by the French Court with a deſign to invade Great Britain: And both Houſes, in return, aſſured his Majeſty of their determination to ſupport, with their lives and fortunes, his perſon and government againſt all attempts whatever. Directions alſo were iſſued to the Lords Lieutenants of the reſpective counties of the kingdom, to uſe their utmoſt diligence and attention in executing the ſeveral acts of Parliament made for the better ordering the militia. This alarm, however, after the defeat of the French fleet by Admiral Hawke, entirely ſubſided.

In the month of Auguſt, an event of great political importance took place in the death of Ferdinand, King of Spain, who, in conſequence of the loſs of the Queen his conſort, had, for many months, renounced all company, neglected all buſineſs, and indulged in the utmoſt exceſſes of ſorrow, under the weight of which he languiſhed, without

without relief or intermiſſion, to the final termination of his life. He was ſucceeded by his brother Don Carlos, King of the Sicilies—a Prince by no means ſo favorably diſpoſed as his predeceſſor to the Engliſh nation; and who ſtill harbored a deep reſentment of the inſult offered to his Crown and dignity in the former war, by the threatened bombardment of his capital, and the humiliating treaty of neutrality to which he was compelled to accede. This Monarch, previous to his departure from Naples, by a ſolemn edict, reſigned the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his younger ſon, Don Ferdinand, in contravention and contempt of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which expreſsly declares, that, if the Infant Don Carlos ſhall ſucceed to the throne of Spain, the Dutchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guaſtalla, ſhall revert to the Houſe of Auſtria, and the Infant Don Philip ſhall ſucceed to the throne of the Sicilies. But to this article Don Carlos had never acceded; and the Court of Vienna was not at this time in a ſituation to enforce the obſervance of it.

In November 1759, the Parliament was again opened by commiſſion, and the Lord Keeper again enlarged on the ſignal ſucceſſes of his Majeſty's arms by ſea and land; particularly diſtinguiſhing the reduction of Quebec and the victory of Minden —declaring, however, by the command of his Sovereign, "that, as his Majeſty entered not into

this war from views of ambition, he did not wiſh to continue it from motives of reſentment; that the deſire of his Majeſty's heart was to ſee a ſtop put to the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, whenever juſt and honorable terms of peace could be obtained." It was conſolatory to the humane and diſpaſſionate part of the nation, after the ſacrifice of ſuch countleſs hetacombs of human victims, and the expenditure of ſo many millions of treaſure, at length to hear the ſound of peace. But the majority, intoxicated with ideas of conqueſt, were far from wiſhing the ſpeedy termination of the war; and, from the enormous ſupplies granted by Parliament, amounting this year to no leſs than fifteen millions, it ſeemed as if the nation, eager for its own impoveriſhment and ruin, was willing to purchaſe glory with bread.

In the courſe of this Seſſion, an effort was made to render efficient the famous Parliamentary qualification act of Queen Anne, by the introduction of a bill, which, with ſome modifications, eventually paſſed into a law. By virtue of the new act, it became neceſſary for every perſon elected a Member of the Houſe of Commons, to deliver in a paper or ſchedule to the Speaker of the Houſe, ſpecifying the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification. But this regulation ſerved only to increaſe in ſome degree the trouble, and not at all to diminiſh the frequency of evaſion.

The

The truth is, that the act, which was originally deſigned to promote the intereſts of a faction, is ſo contrary to the ſenſe and to the intereſt of the nation, that it neither can nor ought to be enforced. Perfect freedom of choice on the part of the people is the only rational ſecurity for the integrity of the repreſentative body; and to impoſe any arbitrary reſtrictions of this nature, by which they might be eventually deprived of the ſervices of ſome of the moſt honeſt and able members of the community, is an unconſtitutional violation of their juſt and impreſcriptible rights *.

The

* This act of Queen Anne, originally framed to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the Tory faction, can be juſtified on no principle of reaſon or equity; for there is no ground to ſuppoſe that integrity bears any determinate *ratio* to property. Men in the higher walks of life are far from being, on that account, the moſt independent. Having a ſpecific rank to ſupport, and dreading the leaſt degradation from it, they have always much for themſelves and families to aſk—admitting that they cheriſh no ambitious ideas of advancement—at leaſt to maintain their accuſtomed level in ſociety. Whereas, perſons in leſs elevated ſtations, of inferior fortune, and different habits, more eaſily learn to moderate their deſires, and not unfrequently entertain a real indifference for thoſe honors and riches which it is the lot of ſo few to poſſeſs—

" And which to leave's a thouſand-fold more bitter
Than ſweet at firſt t'acquire."

It is true, that abſolute indigence is apparently incompatible with independence: But there is little danger that perſons of this deſcription ſhould be returned Members to Parliament, except the virtue of the individual ſhould in

The ſubject which at this time chiefly engroſſed the public attention, was the court-martial held upon Lord George Sackville, Commander of the Britiſh forces in Germany, in conſequence of the charge brought againſt him of diſobeying the repeated orders of Prince Ferdinand, to advance with the cavalry, in order to ſuſtain the infantry, and to attack the enemy, already broken, at the memorable battle of Minden. From this charge his Lordſhip was not able to clear himſelf to the ſatisfaction of the public. For, though it appeared that there were in the orders tranſmitted by the different Aids-du-Camp ſome degree of variation, perhaps of inconſiſtency, it was univerſally acknowleged that the neceſſity of bringing the cavalry into *immediate action* was ſtrongly and repeatedly urged to his Lordſhip. Colonel Fitzroy *, in particular,

ſome rare inſtance be deemed proof againſt all temptation, as in the caſe of the famous Andrew Marvel, who is ſaid, after refuſing a treaſury warrant for a thouſand pounds, to have been under the neceſſity of applying to a friend for the loan of a guinea.

" Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena ſigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, veſtes Gaetulo murice tinctas
Sunt qui non habeant; eſt qui non curat habere."

Hor.

" Gold, ſilver, ivory, vaſes, ſculptur'd high,
Paint, marble, gems, and robes of Tyrian dye,
There are who have not—and thank Heaven there are,
Who, if they have not, think not worth their care."

Pope.

* Now Lord Southampton.

after

after ſtating the circumſtances which occaſioned the order, added, with great gallantry, "that it was a glorious opportunity for the Engliſh to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and that his Lordſhip, by leading them on, would gain immortal honor." Admitting, then, the commands of his Serene Highneſs to be in any reſpect doubtful, his Lordſhip might ſurely have been guided in the interpretation of them by his own diſcretion; and nothing could be more abſurd or unpardonable than to waſte thoſe irreparable moments in coldly ſeeking an explanation of orders, which ought to have been occupied in the vigorous execution of them. In concluſion, the court-martial adjudged that Lord George Sackville was guilty of diſobeying the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, his Commander —declaring him, for this offence, incapable of ſerving his Majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever. This ſentence was confirmed by the King, who, as a farther mark of his reſentment, called in council for the council-book, and ordered the name of Lord George Sackville to be ſtruck out of the liſt of Privy Counſellors. Such was the laſt public act of this Monarch's reign and life: For, on Saturday the 25th of October 1760, being at the palace of Kenſington, where he commonly reſided, he was ſuddenly ſeized with an apoplectic fit, ſoon after his riſing in uſual health in the morning. Recovering his ſenſes after a ſhort interval, he deſired, with a faint voice, that his

daughter the Princeſs Amelia might be ſent for; but, before her arrival, he expired, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. During this long period, he had experienced many viciſſitudes of fortune; but he lived to ſee himſelf the moſt ſucceſsful of all the Engliſh Monarchs. And, after the dark and lowering aſpect which his political horizon occaſionally exhibited, his ſun ſet at laſt in a golden cloud.

The character of this Monarch it is not eaſy either to miſtake or to miſrepreſent. Endowed by nature with an underſtanding by no means comprehenſive, he had taken little pains to improve and expand his original powers by intellectual cultivation. Equally a ſtranger to learning and the arts, he ſaw the rapid increaſe of both under his reign, without contributing in the remoteſt degree to accelerate that progreſſion by any mode of encouragement, or even beſtowing, probably, a ſingle thought on the means of their advancement. Inheriting all the political prejudices of his father—prejudices originating in a partiality natural and pardonable—he was never able to extend his views beyond the adjuſtment of the Germanic balance of power; and reſting with unſuſpicious ſatisfaction in that ſyſtem, into which he had been early initiated, he never roſe even to the conception of that ſimple, dignified, and impartial conduct, which it is equally the honor and intereſt of Great Britain to maintain

in

in all the complicated conteſts of the Continental States. It is curious to remark, that the grand objects of the two Continental wars of this reign were diametrically oppoſite: In the firſt, England ſought the aggrandizement—in the ſecond, the abaſement of the Houſe of Auſtria. And in what mode the conſequent advancement of Pruſſia, at an expenſe to England ſo enormous, to the rank of a primary power in Europe, has contributed to the eſtabliſhment or preſervation of that political balance, upon the accurate poize of which many have affirmed, and perhaps ſome have believed, that the ſalvation of England depends, yet remains to be explained. In the internal government of his kingdoms, this Monarch appears, however, to much greater advantage than in the contemplation of his ſyſtem of foreign politics. Though many improper conceſſions were made by the Parliament to the Crown during the courſe of this reign, it muſt be acknowleged, that no violation of the eſtabliſhed laws or liberties of the kingdom can be imputed to the Monarch. The general principles of his adminiſtration, both civil and religious, were liberal and juſt. Thoſe penal ſtatutes which form the diſgrace of our judicial code, were, in his reign, meliorated, and virtually ſuſpended, by the ſuperior mildneſs and equity of the Executive Power. And it was a well-known and memorable declaration of this beneficent Monarch, "that, during his reign, there

there ſhould be no perſecution for conſcience ſake." Though ſubject to occaſional ſallies of paſſion, his diſpoſition was naturally generous and eaſily placable. On various occaſions, he had given ſignal demonſtrations of perſonal bravery; nor did the general tenor of his conduct exhibit proofs leſs ſtriking of his rectitude and integrity: And, if he cannot be ranked amongſt the greateſt, he is at leaſt entitled to be claſſed with the moſt reſpectable Princes of the age in which he lived, and his memory is deſervedly held in national eſteem and veneration.

The general ſtate of literature and the arts during this reign, it may be thought improper to paſs over without a ſpecific, however tranſient, mention. In the early part of it, a ſhadow of royal protection and encouragement diſplayed itſelf in the countenance given by Queen Caroline—a Princeſs of an excellent underſtanding and much liberality of ſentiment—to ſeveral learned men, with whom ſhe loved freely to converſe; particularly with Dr. Samuel Clarke, ſo famous for his theological and metaphyſical writings; and whoſe ſpeculative opinions, in their full extent, the Queen was believed to have deeply imbibed. Hoadley, the friend of this illuſtrious philoſopher, was advanced, through a long ſeries of promotions, to the Biſhopric of Wincheſter; and Dr. Clarke himſelf was, it is ſaid, deſtined, had not his death prematurely and

unex-

unexpectedly intervened, to the Archbiſhopric of Canterbury. Theſe great and celebrated eccleſiaſtics, the brighteſt ornaments and luminaries of the Engliſh Church, were anxiouſly ſolicitous to advance its true intereſt, as well as honor, by effecting a farther reform, both of its diſcipline and doctrine, on the genuine principles of Proteſtantiſm. But the political caution, and not the religious bigotry, of the governing powers, unhappily precluded the attempt.

The Prince of Wales alſo, at a ſubſequent period, ſhewed a diſpoſition, though reſtrained in the ability, to become a munificent patron of literature: And Mallet, Thomſon, and Young, are ſaid to have been particularly diſtinguiſhed by his bounty. The *Seaſons*, and the *Night Thoughts*, are poems of high and deſerved celebrity. But the moſt truly poetical genius of this reign was unqueſtionably Gray, had his powers been fully expanded by the ſunſhine of popular and courtly encouragement. The *Bard* and *Church-yard Elegy* are maſter-pieces of ſublime enthuſiaſm, and plaintive elegance. In the drama no tragedies appeared which could ſtand even a momentary competition with the admired and pathetic productions of Otway, or even the elegant though leſs impaſſioned performances of Rowe. In comedy, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar *yet* remained unrivalled. And of the far greater part of the numerous dramatic

matic pieces of this period, it may be affirmed in the words of Dryden, "that the tragic muſe gave ſmiles, the comic ſleep."

In one ſpecies of literary compoſition, however, and that of the higheſt importance, the reign of George II. may boaſt a decided and indiſputable ſuperiority; and in the province of hiſtory, the names of Hume and Robertſon will ever claim the higheſt rank of eminence. Taking it for all in all, Hume's Hiſtory of England may perhaps be juſtly regarded as the greateſt effort of hiſtoric genius which the world ever ſaw. His philoſophic impartiality, approaching indeed occaſionally the confines of indifference, his profound ſagacity, his diligence of reſearch, his felicity of ſelection and arrangement, the dignified elegance of his ſtyle, which yet rarely aſpires to elevation or energy—all combine to ſtamp upon this work the characteriſtics of high and indiſputable excellence. With ſuch happineſs, and with touches ſo maſterly, are the principal perſonages of his hiſtory delineated, that a more clear and perfect idea is frequently conveyed by Mr. Hume, in a few lines, than we are able to derive from the elaborate amplifications of Lord Clarendon, whoſe hiſtorical portraits, though drawn certainly with great accuracy and cloſeneſs of obſervation, are finiſhed rather in the ſtyle of the Flemiſh than the Roman ſchool. With reſpect to the Hiſtorian of Charles V. it is ſufficient to

ſay,

ſay, that he has been often highly, but never too highly praiſed. From a rude and indigeſted chaos of matter he has ſelected thoſe facts which are truly and permanently intereſting, and which alone it imports poſterity to know, connecting them with exquiſite ſkill, and adorning his narration with all the graces of a ſimple, pure, and luminous diction, wholly free from thoſe meretricious ornaments, that tumid pomp, and gaudy diſplay of eloquence, by which later writers have been unfortunately ambitious to acquire reputation.

In metaphyſics, Hartley eſtabliſhed a ſyſtem admirable for its ſimplicity, for the extent and importance of its practical application, and its perfect correſpondence with all the actual phænomena of human nature, upon the firm and immovable foundation of Locke. This ſyſtem, now riſing into general regard and eſtimation, has been violently attacked by ſome ingenious writers, whoſe darts have "faintly tinkled on the brazen ſhield" of this great philoſopher, the theory of whom has been moſt ably vindicated by the pen of the celebrated Prieſtley, whoſe name, at once the glory and the reproach of the Engliſh nation, is revered in every part of the globe where the light of ſcience has penetrated; and whoſe peculiar praiſe and honor it is, long to have been the object of the malignant animoſity, and, as far as the ſpirit of the times

times would permit, of the perſecution of the "holy Vandals" of the age.

In philology, morals, and criticiſm, Bentley, Warburton, and more recently Johnſon, ſhone with diſtinguiſhed luſtre.

In theology, amidſt an hoſt of great and reſpectable names, it cannot be deemed invidious to beſtow the higheſt applauſe on that of Lardner, who, unaſſiſted by the advantages, and unadorned by the honors of our national ſeminaries of education, compoſed a ſtupendous work on the credibility of Chriſtianity, no leſs to be admired for its candor, impartiality, and ſagacious ſpirit of reſearch, than its amazing extent and depth of erudition; and it is not without reaſon that he has been ſtyled, by a juſtly celebrated writer, who cannot be ſuſpected of partiality either to the cauſe or the advocate, "the prince of modern divines." Foſter, Leland, Chandler, Abernethy, Duchal, and many other eminent names, not of the Eſtabliſhed Church, maintained alſo, with diſtinguiſhed honor to themſelves, by their various learned theological and philoſophical writings, at once the reputation of their ſeparate communion, and the authority of that common faith which all denominations of Chriſtians are equally concerned to ſupport. In the pale of the Eſtabliſhment, the venerable Lowth diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all his

his cotemporaries, by adorning the profoundeſt diſquiſitions in ſacred literature, with all the charms of claſſic elegance. And the excellent Jortin, in the juſtneſs and comprehenſion of his views, the clearneſs and accuracy of his reaſonings, attained to high, perhaps unrivalled pre-eminence. His *Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory* abound with the moſt candid and liberal ſentiments; and his *Life of Eraſmus* diſcovers a mind perfectly congenial with that of the illuſtrious ſcholar whoſe portrait he has delineated—the ſame ingenuous ſimplicity, the ſame urbanity, wit, and poliſhed keenneſs of ſatire—in rectitude equal, in fortitude ſuperior. Had Eraſmus flouriſhed in our days, Jortin would ſurely have been his favourite and choſen friend; for we know that his admired and beloved Colet was but the Jortin of a former age. For the famous and incomparable preface prefixed to his *Remarks*, he is ſaid to have been menaced by the High Church bigots of his time with a legal proſecution; but this threat was rendered ineffectual by the moderation of the governors of the Church at that period, and particularly of Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury—a prelate eminent for diſcernment, candor, and benignity, and who had declared to Dr. Jortin that he would be to him what Warham had been to Eraſmus. It was, however, late in life before the extraordinary merits of Jortin attracted

tracted that attention to which they were ſo well intitled: And he himſelf truly and feelingly ſpeaks of the patronage ſaid to be afforded to literature by men of rank and fortune, as "a Mileſian fable and a fairy tale."

Before the concluſion of this reign, Reynolds in painting, in ſculpture Wilton, began to riſe into fame: And the exquiſite muſical compoſitions of Handel were vigorouſly emulated by Arne and Boyce. But to whatever degree of perfection ſcience, literature, and the arts, aroſe, during even its laſt ſplendid and memorable period, the ſole and excluſive honor of patronage appertains —not to the Court—not to any Mæcenas or Dorſet of the age—not to the encouragement derived from academical honors or premiums—but to the taſte, diſcernment, and generoſity of the NATION.

THUS have theſe *Memoirs of Great Britain* been at length brought to a determinate period—perhaps, at ſome future time—if in future time the truth may be ſafely ſpoken—to be reſumed. If any apology be neceſſary for the freedom with which they are written, no words more proper can be adopted than thoſe already excellently urged by M. Voltaire,

taire. "We have been amuſed, ſays this philoſopher, long enough with thoſe ſplendid trifles which deſcribe the pomp of a coronation, the ceremony of receiving a hat, or the public *entrée* of an ambaſſador. What we want is an hiſtory of mankind itſelf, and not of kings or courts, which gratify only an idle curioſity, and leave us deſtitute of inſtruction or improvement."

HISTORY, according to a very juſt and celebrated definition of it, *is* PHILOSOPHY *teaching by* EXAMPLE. And the great purpoſe to be anſwered, by a reſearch into the records of paſt ages, is to learn how to avoid thoſe errors which have been injurious to human happineſs, and by what means the general welfare may be moſt certainly and efficaciouſly promoted. If Hiſtory be not written, and if it be not read likewiſe in this ſpirit, and with this view, the romantic tales of an Amadis or an Orlando, may be ſtudied with as much advantage as the Memoirs of Great Britain or of France. From increaſe of knowlege we have a right to expect increaſe of happineſs; and to whatever temporary obſtructions the progreſs of mankind to that perfection of which their nature and condition are ſuſceptible, may be liable, the grand aſſociation of knowlege, virtue, and happineſs remains, in the moral order of the univerſe, aſſuredly fixed and indiſſoluble. And, to conclude, in the words of an admirable foreign wri-

ter: "In vain ſhall ſophiſms be ſcattered, times confounded, or particular facts generalized, in order to ſhew that the progreſs of vices follows that of the arts. Whenever we view, with an impartial and attentive eye, the chain of events, and take a comprehenſive ſurvey of the whole, we ſhall invariably behold ignorance the concomitant of crimes, and virtues multiplied in proportion as the human mind is illuminated *."

* "Envain étalera-t-on des ſophiſmes, confondra-t-on les tems, généraliſera-t-on les faits particuliers, pour montrer que le progrès des vices ſuivent les progrès des arts; toutes les fois qu'on portera un œil attentif et juſte ſur la chaine des évenemens, et qu'on en embraſſera l'enſemble, on verra toujours l'ignorance marcher avec les crimes, et les vertus ſe multiplier avec les lumieres."

Tableau de l'Hiſtoire Moderne, par M. de Mehegan.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A

ABERCROMBIE, General, appointed to the chief command in America, vol. ii. 267. His unſucceſsful attempt on Ticonderago, ii. 268. Superſeded by General Amherſt, 271.

Abo, peace of, between Ruſſia and Sweden, ii. 125.

Achmet III. Emperor of the Turks, his extraordinary depoſition, i. 280—284.

Addiſon, Mr. advanced to the poſt of Secretary of State, i. 172.; but reſigns, ibid. His literary character, 265.

Adolphus-Frederic, King of Sweden, his acceſſion to the throne, ii. 190. His voluntary oath, ibid.

Aix-la-Chapelle, Convention of, i. 262. General peace of, ii. 168.

Alberoni, Cardinal, his character and romantic projects, i. 143—158.

Albemarle, Earl of, his ſpirited memorial to the French Court, ii. 216.

Amherſt, General, aſſumes the command in America, ii. 267. Captures the city of Louiſburg, 268. Reduces the forts of Ticonderago and Crown-Point, 273. Takes the city of Montreal, and completes the conqueſt of Canada, 281.

Anne, Queen of Great Britain, ſucceeds to the throne on the death of King William, i. 8. Declares war againſt France, 10. Her prejudices, political and religious, 54. Diſmiſſes the Whig Miniſtry, 68. Orders the Attorney-General to commence a proſecution againſt the Duke of Marlborough, 71. Her death and character, 85.

Anne Iwanowna, Empreſs of Ruſſia, her acceſſion, i. 280. Her conqueſts over the Ottomans, 371. Her death, ii. 18.

Anſon, Commodore, detached with a ſquadron into the South Sea, ii. 17. Returns to England after a circumnavigation of the globe, 18. Engages and defeats a French ſquadron, 165. Ennobled, ibid. Placed at the head of the Admiralty, 261.

Argyle, Duke of, defeats the rebels at Sheriff-Moor, i. 108. His character drawn, 270. Oppoſes the bill for inflicting penalties on the city of Edinburgh, 367. Accepts the Maſter-Generalſhip of the Ordnance, which he quickly reſigns, ii. 49.

Aſhby and *White*, caſe of, i. 14.

Atterbury, Biſhop of Rocheſter, refuſes to ſign the proteſtation againſt the Pretender, i. 164. Oppoſes the petition of the Quakers, 210. Engages in a conſpiracy againſt the Government, and baniſhed, 214. Remarkable declaration of Lord Harcourt reſpecting him, 218. His character and death, 219.

Auguſtus I. King of Poland, his death, and its political conſequences, i. 332.

Auguſtus II. King of Poland, joins the confederacy againſt the Queen of Hungary, ii. 21. Concludes a treaty of peace, 26. Joins the Queen of Hungary againſt Pruſſia, 76. His troops defeated at Keſſeldorff, and the city of Dreſden compelled to ſurrender, 84. Concludes a treaty of peace with Pruſſia, ibid. Engages in a ſubſidy treaty with England, 192.; whom he abandons, 228. Enters into ſecret intrigues to the prejudice of the King of Pruſſia, 318. His dominions invaded by the King of Pruſſia, who takes poſſeſſion of Dreſden, 320. His army compelled to capitulate, 321.

B

Balchen, Admiral Sir John, loſt, with his whole crew, in the Victory, ii. 140.

Bedford, Duke of, declares his diſapprobation of the Hanoverian ſyſtem, ii. 60. His ſpeech againſt the bill for extending the forfeitures of treaſon, 119. Appointed Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, 141. His remarkable motion in the Houſe of Peers, 176.

Belhaven, Earl of, his eloquent ſpeech againſt the Treaty of Union, i. 35.

Benedict, Pope, XIII. his acceſſion to the papacy, i. 206. His death, 280.

Benedict, Pope, XIV. his death and character, ii. 368.

Bernard, Sir John, his oppoſition to the foreign loan bill, i. 286. His

His ſpeech againſt the requiſition of an unlimited vote of credit, 353. His plan for reducing the public debt, 379.

Berwick, Duke of, gains the battle of Almanza, i. 46. Captures Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian, 160. Reduces Fort Kehl and Traerbach, 334. Killed by a cannon-ball at the ſiege of Philipſburg, ibid.

Braddock, General, his diſaſtrous expedition to the Ohio, ii. 221.

Bligh, General, his unfortunate retreat to St. Cas, ii. 284.

Bolingbroke, Viſcount, appointed Secretary of State, i. 69. Repairs to Paris to negotiate the peace, 76. His character, 78. Brings in a bill againſt the Pretender, 83. Removed from his office, 97.; and impeached of high treaſon, 100. Withdraws to the continent, ibid. Engages in the ſervice of the Pretender, 103. Bill of attainder paſſed againſt him, 106. His character of the Pretender, 111. Act of attainder reverſed, 217. Joins the Oppoſition, inſtigated by chagrin and ambition, 218. Acquires the favour and confidence of the Prince of Wales, ii. 171. His character in the concluding years of his life, 172.

Boſcawen, Admiral, captures the Alcide and the Lys, ii. 220. Defeats the French fleet off Cape Lagos, 285.

Bourbon, Duke of, ſucceeds the Duke of Orleans as Regent of France, i. 231.

Breſlau, treaty of, ii. 25.

Britiſh Fiſhery, act paſſed for its encouragement, ii. 185.

Bute, Earl of, introduced into the houſehold of the Prince of Wales, ii. 175. His baleful influence, 176.

Byng, Sir George, defeats a French armament from Dunkirk, i. 43. Engages and deſtroys the Spaniſh fleet off Meſſina, 149. Created Viſcount Torrington, 150.

Byng, Admiral, diſpatched to the relief of Minorca, ii. 246. His indeciſive engagement with Monſ. Galiſſioniere, 247. His puſillanimous retreat to Gibraltar, 249. His trial and execution, 253, 254.

C

Cambray, Congreſs of, i. 160.

Cameron, Dr. his trial and barbarous execution, ii. 202.

Cape Breton, iſland of, taken by Admiral Warren, ii 158. Reſtored by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, ii. 170. Captured by General Amherſt, 268.

Carew, Mr. his motion for reſtoring annual parliaments, ii. 142.

Carteret, Lord, his character, i. 270. Appointed to the government of Ireland, 278. His wife administration, 279. He resigns his offices, and joins the Oppofition, 298. Supports the Penfion bill, ibid. Declares againft votes of credit, 383. Appointed Principal Secretary of State, ii. 48. Votes againft the Penfion bill, 50. Infinuates himfelf into the favour of the King, 57. Appointed Ambaffador-Extraordinary to the States-General, 58. His infidious policy, 67, 68. Engroffed by Continental politics, 103. His fpeech in vindication of the Continental war, 106. Againft difmiffing the Hanoverian mercenaries, 115. Compelled to refign his office, 141. Becomes Earl of Granville, is re-appointed to the office of Secretary of State, and again refigns, 160. Made Prefident of the Council, ibid.

Carlos, Don, fucceeds to the Duchies of Parma, &c. i. 300. Conquers Naples and Sicily, 335. Succeeds to the crown of Spain, ii. 3-1.

Caroline, Queen of Great Britain, dies, i. 370. Her liberality of fentiment, ii. 378.

Catherine I. Empreſs of Ruffia, her acceffion to the throne, i. 244. Offended at the meafures of the Engliſh Court, ibid. Accedes to the treaty of Vienna, 245. Death of the Empreſs, 261.

Catherine II. Empreſs of Ruffia, her acceffion and character, ii. 357.

Charles XII. King of Sweden, offended at the purchafe of Bremen and Verden, i. 132. Projects the invafion of Great Britain, ibid. His death and character, 140.

Charles VI. Emperor of Germany, concludes a peace with France, at Al-Raftadt, i. 77. Engages as a party in the quadruple alliance, 145. Refufes to the King of England the inveftitures of Bremen and Verden, 162. Grants a protectorial commiffion for Mecklenburg, ibid. His jealoufy of the King of England, 229. Eftabliſhes an Imperial Eaſt India Company at Oſtend, 230. Concludes an alliance with Spain, 231. Agrees to preliminaries of accommodation with England, 262. Offended at the treaty of Seville, 280—286. His unfuccefsful war with Turkey, 371. His death, ii. 18.

Charles VII. Emperor of Germany, Elector of Bavaria, his claim upon the Auſtrian ſucceſſion, ii. 21. Invades the Archduchy of Auſtria, and threatens Vienna, 23. Crowned King of Bohemia at Prague, ibid. Elected Emperor at Francfort, ibid. Reduced to great difficulty and diſtreſs, 26. His decree againſt the Queen of Hungary, 27. In danger of being made a priſoner, 62. Signs a treaty at Francfort, with Pruſſia, Sweden, and

and the Elector Palatine, 75. Recovers poſſeſſion of Munich his capital, and dies, 79.

Charles-Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, ſucceeds to the crown on the reſignation of his father, i. 280. Orders the perſon of the late King to be ſeized, 325. Declares war againſt the Emperor, in conjunction with France and Spain, 334. Joins the Houſe of Auſtria againſt Spain and France, ii. 28. In danger of loſing his dominions, 32. He is remunerated for his ſervices, 36.

Charles, Prince of Lorraine, oppoſes the King of Pruſſia in Sileſia, ii. 25. Advances into Bohemia, and inveſts the city of Prague, 26. Croſſes the Rhine, and invades the kingdom of France, 74. Compels the King of Pruſſia to evacuate Bohemia, 77. Defeated by Mareſchal Saxe, at Roucoux, 96. Defeated by the King of Pruſſia at Prague, 322. Superſeded in the command by Marſhal Daun, 323.

Cherbourg, city of, taken by Lord Howe, who deſtroys its baſon and harbour, ii. 283.

Cheſterfield, Earl of, his character, i. 268. His ſpeech againſt the Bill for licenſing the Stage, 374. Inveighs againſt a continental war, ii. 59. His ſpeech on moving the addreſs, 104. Appointed to the Government of Ireland, 141. Goes as Ambaſſador-extraordinary to Holland, 153. The wiſdom and popularity of his government, 156. Preſents a bill for the reform of the Calendar, 188.

Chriſtiern VI. King of Denmark, endeavours to revive the Union of Calmar, ii. 136. Refuſes the ſubſidies of Great Britain, ibid. Renews the alliance with Great Britain, 137. His death, ibid.

Clement XI. Pope, dies—his character, i. 206.

Clement XII. Pope, his acceſſion, i. 280. Fills the Papal chair ten years, ibid.

Clive, Colonel, takes the city of Arcot, ii. 303. Captures, in conjunction with Admiral Watſon, the city of Calcutta, 308. Defeats Sou Rajah Doula, 309. Takes Chandernagore, ibid. His march to Moorſhedabad, 311. Gains a complete victory at Plaſſey, 312.

Cloiſter-Seven, Convention of, ii. 267.

Coote, Colonel, defeats M. Lally at Wandewaſh, ii. 315. Takes the city of Pondichery, 317.

Cope, Sir John, defeated by the rebels at Preſton-Pans, ii. 90.

Cotton, Sir John Hynde, his deſcription of a genuine Whig, i. 373.

Accepts a place at Court, which he ſoon reſigns, ii. 142. His oppoſition to the ſubſidizing ſyſtem, 194.

Cowper, Lord, removed from his office of Lord Chancellor, i. 69. Re-inſtated, 97. Oppoſes the repeal of the Teſt laws, 177, and the Bill for baniſhing the Biſhop of Rocheſter, 216.

Crawford, Earl of, his extraordinary preſence of mind, ii. 97.

Cumberland, Duke of, wounded at Dettingen, ii. 65. Aſſumes the command of the allied army againſt Mareſchal Saxe, 73. Defeated at Fontenoy, 87. Gains a complete victory over the rebels at Culloden, 94. Defeated by Mareſchal Saxe, at Laffeldt, 99. His military character, 169. Appointed to the command of the army of obſervation in Germany, 265. Defeated at Haſtenbeck by Mareſchal D'Etrees, 266. His injudicious retreat to Stade, 266. Obliged to capitulate with his whole army, ibid. Reſigns his employments, 267.

D

Daun, Mareſchal, defeats the King of Pruſſia at Kolin, and relieves Prague, ii. 323. Captures Schweidnitz, 325. Defeats the Pruſſians under the Prince of Bevern, and takes Breſlau, ibid. Defeated by the King of Pruſſia at Liſſa, 326. Relieves Olmutz, and purſues the King into Bohemia, 333. Defeats the King at Hochkirchen, 334. Captures General Finck and his whole army, 340. Defeated by the King at Torgau, 350.

Derwentwater, Earl of, appears in arms againſt the Government, i. 108. Surrenders himſelf priſoner, ibid. Beheaded on Tower-hill, 112.

Devonſhire, Duke of, appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, ii. 257.

Dorſet, Duke of, his declaration to the Parliament of Ireland, ii. 204.

Dupleix, M. his abilities and ambition, ii. 301.

E

Egmont, Lord, his oppoſition to German ſubſidies, ii. 193.

Elizabeth, Empreſs of Ruſſia, her acceſſion, ii. 18. Orders the march of 40,000 men to the Rhine, 102. Carries on a ſucceſsful war with the Swedes, 134. Her inſidious and intereſted policy, 190. Concludes a ſubſidy treaty with England, 229. Enters

Enters into engagements with France, 230. Joins the confederacy againſt Pruſſia, 321—324. Her death, 357.

Eugene, Prince, his interview with the Duke of Marlborough, i. 22. Co-operates with the Engliſh General in gaining the victories of Schellenburg and Blenheim, 23. Gains a complete victory at Turin, and relieves the city, 29. Lays ſiege to Toulon, 46. Joins the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders, 47. Commands the army on the Rhine, 52. Arrives in England, 74. Repulſed at Denain, and compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Landreci, 75. Triumphs over the Ottomans, 143. Oppoſes the Duke of Berwick on the Rhine, 334.

F

Fazakerly, Mr. his ſpeech againſt the extenſion of forfeitures for high treaſon, ii. 123.

Ferdinand, Prince, reaſſembles the allied army at Stade, ii. 329. Recovers Hanover, and compels the French to repaſs the Rhine, 330. Defeats the French army at Crevelt, 331. Repulſed by Mareſchal Broglio at Bergen, 336. Gains a complete victory at Minden, 337. Defeats the French at Warbourg, 344. Defeats the French at Grabenſtein, 355. Takes the city of Caſſel, 356.

Ferdinand II. King of Spain, his acceſſion, ii. 165. Reſtores to the Engliſh their commercial privileges, 186. Determined to maintain his neutrality, 227. Offers his mediation to the Courts of Verſailles and London, 228. His exceſſive grief at the loſs of the Queen, and death, 370, 371.

Finale, Marquiſite of, belonging to Genoa, fraudulently ceded to the King of Sardinia, ii. 66.

Fleury, Cardinal, gains the reverſion of Lorraine for France, i. 337. Offers the mediation of France to accommodate the differences between Spain and England, ii. 14. His death, 72.

Fox, Right Honourable Henry, his character, ii. 180. Appointed Principal Secretary of State, 236. His ſpirited reply to M. Rouille, 241. His motion for the introduction of foreign troops, 242. Reſigns his office, 257. Appointed Paymaſter to the Forces, 262.

Francis I. Emperor of Germany, Duke of Lorraine, elected Emperor at Francfort, ii. 82.

Frederick V. King of Denmark, his acceſſion, ii. 137. Loſes his Queen, daughter to the King of England, 191.

Frederick, King of Sweden, Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, accedes

to the crown on the reſignation of his Queen Ulrica, ii. 126. His political ſituation and deficient authority, 127—134. Forced into a war with Ruſſia, 134. Dies—the amount of his ſubſidies from England, 191.

Frederick II. King of Pruſſia, ſucceeds to the crown on the demiſe of his father, ii. 19. His unexpected invaſion of Sileſia, ibid. Gains the battles of Molwitz and Czaſlaw, 25. The entire province of Sileſia ceded to him by the treaty of Breſlau, ibid. Invades Bohemia, and concludes a treaty with the Emperor, 75. Compelled to evacuate Bohemia with loſs, 77. Opens the campaign in Sileſia, and defeats the Auſtrians at Friedburg, 82. and at Sohr, 83. and the Saxons at Keſſeldorff, 84. Signs a treaty of peace at Dreſden, ibid. Oppoſes the election of a King of the Romans, 196. Signs a treaty of alliance with the King of Great Britain, 229. Enters the electorate of Saxony, and compels the whole Saxon army to capitulate, 320. Fights an indeciſive battle with the Auſtrians at Lowoſchutz, 321. Put under the ban of the Empire, 322. Gains a complete victory over the Prince of Lorraine at Prague, ibid. Defeated by Mareſchal Daun at Kolin, 323. Gains a complete victory over the French at Roſbach, 325. and over the Auſtrians at Liſſa, ibid. Becomes extremely popular in England, 327. Subſidy treaty ſigned, 329. Compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Olmutz, 333. Defeats the Ruſſians at Zorndorff, ibid. Defeated by Mareſchal Daun at Hochkirchen, 334. Relieves ſix cities beſieged by the enemy, 335, 336. Defeated with great loſs by the Ruſſians at Cunerſdorff, 340. In imminent danger of being ſurrounded, 346. Defeats General Laudohn at Lignitz, 347. Defeats Mareſchal Daun at Torgau, 350. Concludes a ſeparate peace with Ruſſia, 357. Captures the fortreſs of Schweidnitz, 359. Concludes a peace with the Queen of Hungary at Hubertſburg, 360.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, arrives in England, i. 276. Married to Auguſta Princeſs of Saxe-Gotha, 369. Motion in the Houſe of Commons for ſettling one hundred thouſand pounds per annum on the Prince, 370. Divides in perſon againſt the Convention with Spain, ii. 12. His reply to the King's meſſage, 47. Again alienated from the Court, 171. His death, 173.

G

Gages, Count de, ſucceeds the Duc de Montemar in the command of the Spaniſh army in Italy, ii. 28. Defeated by M. Traun, at Campo Santo, 29. His march acroſs the Appennines,

nines, 32. Defeated by the Auſtrians at San Lazaro, 34. and Tortona, ibid. Retires to Provence, ibid.

Genoa, Republic of, treated with flagrant injuſtice by the Courts of Vienna and London, ii. 66, 67. Joins the confederacy againſt the Queen of Hungary, 32. 69. City of Genoa taken by the Auſtrians, 34. Recovered by the heroic bravery of the Genoeſe, ibid.

George, Prince of Denmark, his death and character, 45.

George I. his acceſſion and deſcent, i. 87. State of parties, 88. His predilection for the Whigs and Diſſenters, 95. Diſmiſſes the Tory Miniſters, 97. His remarkable proclamation for convening a Parliament, 98. Purchaſes of the King of Denmark the Duchies of Bremen and Verden, 131. His alliance with France, ibid. Cauſes the Swediſh ambaſſador to be arreſted, 133. Quarrels with the Czar, 139. Joins in the quadruple alliance, 144. Conſequent war with Spain, 148. Concludes a treaty of alliance with Sweden againſt the Czar, 161. Sends a fleet into the Baltic, 163. Reſtrains the violent proceedings of the Convocation, 175. Recommends the limitation of the Peerage, in a ſpeech from the throne, 187. and the repeal of the Teſt Laws to the Parliament of Ireland, 189. Concludes a treaty of peace with Spain, 206. Informs the Parliament of a dangerous conſpiracy, 211. Declines to mediate between Spain and the Emperor, 232. Treaty of Hanover, 233. Sends a fleet into the Baltic, 244. to the Mediterranean, 247. to the Weſt Indies, ibid. Revives the Order of Knights of the Bath, 249. His letter to the King of Spain, 253. Orders the Imperial ambaſſador to depart the kingdom, 259. Preparations for war, ibid. Articles of accommodation ſigned at Aix-la-Chapelle, 262. The King's death and character, 263.

George II. his acceſſion, 267. Concludes a treaty with Spain at Seville, 280. His angry mention of incendiaries, 288. His remarkable ſpeech from the throne, ibid. Concludes a treaty of peace with the Emperor, 299. Guarantees the Pragmatic Sanction, ibid. Receives the inveſtitures of Bremen and Verden, 324. Extraordinary meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, 345. Sends a fleet to the Tagus for the protection of Portugal, 361. Declares war againſt Spain, ii. 15. and France, 71. Signs a treaty of neutrality for Hanover, 22. Takes the field in perſon, 63. His fortunate eſcape at Dettingen, 64. Concludes a treaty at Worms with the King of Sardinia, 66. His perſonal ſacrifices for the public advantage, 164. Signs a general treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, 168. Sends hoſtages to France, 171. Concludes ſubſidy-treaties with the Electors of Mentz, Bavaria, Saxony, Cologne, and the Elector Palatine,

tine, 192. and with the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, 228. and Ruſſia, 229. Declares war againſt France, 256. Concludes a ſubſidy treaty with Pruſſia, 329. His ſpirited memorial to the Diet of the Empire, 366. His death and character, and review of his reign, 376.

Georgia, Colony of, ſettled, i. 325.

Goertz, Baron, his machinations againſt England, i. 133. Arreſted by order of the States-General, ibid. Vindicates his conduct, and is ſet at liberty, 134. His death, 140.

Godolphin, Earl of, created Lord High Treaſurer, i. 10. Connects himſelf with the Whigs, 13. His exertions to accompliſh the treaty of Union, 34. 42. Scurrilouſly attacked by Dr. Sacheverel, under the name of Volpone, 61. Removed from his office, 69. Unjuſt vote of cenſure paſſed on him, 70.

Goree, iſland of, reduced by Commodore Keppel, ii. 282.

Guadaloupe, iſland of, conquered by the Engliſh, ii. 283.

H

Halifax, Earl of, impeached by the Commons, i. 5. Made Firſt Lord Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, 97. His death and character, 168.

Halifax, Earl of, his ſpeech againſt the Hanoverian mercenaries, ii. 114. Town of Halifax founded under his patronage, 182.

Hanover, treaty of, i. 233.

Harcourt, Lord, ſucceeds Lord Cowper as Lord Chancellor, i. 69. Removed, 97. His propoſition reſpecting the Earl of Oxford, 173.

Harcourt, Earl of, reſigns his office as Governor of the Prince of Wales, ii. 176.

Hardwick, Earl of, created Lord High Chancellor, i. 249. Removed from his office, ii. 262.

Hawke, Admiral, defeats a French ſquadron commanded by M. Le Tendeur, ii. 165. Superſedes Admiral Byng in the Mediterranean, 249. Makes an unſucceſsful attack on Rochefort, 263. Defeats the French fleet off Breſt, 287.

Hawley, General, defeated by the rebels at Falkirk, ii. 93.

Henley, Sir Robert, appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, ii. 262.

Herring, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his character, i. 381. His candor and catholiciſm, ii. 167. 383.

Heritable Juriſdictions, in Scotland, aboliſhed, ii. 164.

Hindoſtan, the country and its inhabitants deſcribed, ii. 287.

Hoadley, Biſhop, his famous ſermon, i. 174. His ſpeech againſt the Teſt Laws, 179.

Hoſier, Admiral, his diſaſtrous expedition to the Weſt Indies, i. 247.

Holt, Lord Chief Juſtice, his ſpirited and upright conduct in oppoſition to the Houſe of Commons, i. 14.

Howe, Lord, his unfortunate death and amiable character, ii. 269.

Hungary, Queen of, ſucceeds to the hereditary dominions of the Houſe of Auſtria, ii. 18. Her diſtreſſes, 24. Receives immenſe ſubſidies from England, 44, 56, 161, 163, &c. Forms an alliance with France, 230. Recals her ambaſſador from England, 363.

I.

Ireland, Act declaratory of its dependence on England paſſed, i. 188.

Jekyl, Sir Joſeph, his ſpeech at the trial of Sacheverel, i. 65. He oppoſes the ſyſtem of ſubſidies, 273.

Jenkins, his inhuman treatment by the Captain of a Spaniſh guarda-coſta, ii. 3.

Juan V. King of Portugal, his difference with the Court of Spain, i. 360. His death and character, ii. 187.

Johnſon, Sir William, defeats a body of French troops, ii. 223. Gains a ſecond victory, and becomes maſter of Niagara, 274.

K

Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough, his ſpeech againſt the Teſt Laws, i. 179. Declaration againſt the bill for ſuppreſſing hereſy, 204.

Khevenhuller, Field-Mareſchal, his military character and atchievements, ii. 24.

King, Sir Peter, one of the managers at the trial of Sacheverel, i. 63. Created Lord King, and Lord High Chancellor, 248.

L

Lally, M. takes Fort St. David's, ii. 314. Compelled to raiſe the ſiege of Tanjore, ibid. Captures the city of Arcot, ibid. Ineffectually beſieges the city of Madraſs, ibid. Defeated by Colonel Coote at Wandewaſh, 315. Surrenders Pondichery, 317.

Lanſdowne, Lord, committed to the Tower, i. 107. His ſpeech againſt the bill for repealing the Teſt Laws, 181.

Laudohn, Mareſchal, decides the victory of Cunerſdorff, ii. 341. Defeats General Fouquet, and takes Glatz, 346. Lays Breſlau in aſhes by a bombardment, ibid. Defeated by the King of Pruſſia at Lignitz, 347. Captures Schweidnitz by a *coup-de-main*, 354.

Lawrenc, General, his operations in India, ii. 303.

Legge, Right Hon. Henry Bilſon, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, ii. 202. Diſmiſſed from his office, 235. Reinſtated, 257. A ſecond time diſmiſſed, 260. and again reinſtated, 261.

Leſtock, Admiral, his miſconduct off Toulon, ii. 139. His miſcarriage at Port l'Orient, 162.

Leopold, Emperor, dies, i. 27.

Liſbon, city of, deſtroyed by an earthquake, ii. 239.

Loudon, Earl of, aſſembles the loyal Clans in Scotland, ii. 91. Appointed to the chief command in America, 224. His dilatorineſs and inactivity, ibid. His unſucceſsful expedition againſt Louiſburg, 225. Superſeded in the command by General Abercrombie, 267.

Louis XIV. his advances for peace rejected, i. 59. Death and character, 128.

Lutwyche, Mr. his excellent ſpeech againſt the Roman-Catholic bill, i. 221.

M

Macclesfield, Earl of, ſucceeds Lord Cowper as Lord Chancellor, i. 248. Impeached and convicted of miſdemeanors in office, ibid.

Madraſs, city of, taken by the French, ii. 163. Reſtored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 170.

Mahmout V. Emperor of the Turks, his unexpected elevation to the

the throne, i. 280. Attempts to mediate a peace in Chriſtendom, ii. 80.

Mansfield, Earl of, his character, ii. 177.

Mathews, Admiral, compels the King of Naples to ſign a treaty of neutrality, ii. 28. Supports the Corſicans, 137. Threatens the bombardment of Civita Vecchia, 138. Engages the combined fleets off Toulon, ibid. His trial and unjuſt ſentence, 140.

Mar, Earl of, proclaims the Pretender in Scotland, i. 107. Eſcapes to the Continent, 110. Makes application in vain for pardon, 146.

Marlborough, Duke of, made Captain-General of the forces of Great Britain, i. 10. and Ambaſſador-Extraordinary to the States-General, ibid. Captures the cities of Venlo, Ruremond, Stevenſwart, and Liege, 11. Takes the city of Bonne, 12. His march to the Danube, 22. Victory of Schellenburg, 23. and of Blenheim, ibid. His march to the Moſelle, and retreat, 26. Attacks Mareſchal Villeroy, and forces the French lines, 27. Victory at Ramilies, and conqueſt of the Spaniſh Netherlands, 28. Battle of Oudenard, and capture of Liſle, 48. and of Tournay, 49. Battle of Malplaquet, and capture of Mons, 50. Towns of Douay, St. Venant, &c. taken, ibid. Appears for the laſt time at the head of the grand army, 52. Penetrates the French lines at Arleux, 53. Takes Bouchaine, 54. Diveſted of his civil and military employments, ibid. Inquiry inſtituted by the Houſe of Commons into his conduct, 71. Cenſured, ibid. Proſecuted, ibid. Reinſtated in his offices, and command of the army, by King George, 97 His death and character, 198.

Mecklenburg, affairs of, 162.

Meer-Jaffier-Ali-Khan, his conſpiracy againſt Surajah Doula, ii. 310. His advancement to the Muſnud, 312.

Methodiſm, riſe of, i. 363.

Methuen, Sir Paul, appointed Secretary State, but reſigns in diſguſt, i. 136. Oppoſes the exciſe bill, 330.

Militia bill, ii. 361.

Minorca, iſland of, invaded and captured by the French, ii. 250.

Molesworth, Lord, his ſpeech againſt the alliance with Sweden, i. 206. His memorable obſervation repeated, 289.

Monckton, Colonel, his ſucceſsful exertions in Nova Scotia, ii. 227. Gallantry at Quebec, 279.

Montcalm, Monſieur de, makes himſelf maſter of Oſwego, ii. 225.

of Fort William-Henry, 226. Repulſes the Engliſh at Montmorenci, 2 5. Defeated and ſlain at the battle of Quebec, 279.

Mordaunt, Sir John, his unfortunate expedition to Rochefort, ii. 263. His trial and unexpected acquittal, 265.

Murray, General, appointed to the Government of Quebec, 280. His gallant defence of that city, ibid. He co-operates with General Amherſt in the reduction of Montreal, 281

N

Newcaſtle, Duke of, Secretary of State, his character, i. 268. His impenetrable ſecreſy, 383. Reſigns and is reinſtated, ii. 160. Preſents a regency bill to Parliament, 188. His diſlike to "new-fangled things," ibid. Advanced to the office of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, 202. His incapacity for government, ibid. Permits the barbarous execution of Dr. Cameron, 203. His weak and haughty treatment of the Parliament of Ireland, ibid. His empty and artificial profeſſions, 237. His political portrait, 239. His eager vindication of his own indiſcretion and miſconduct, 252. Reſigns, 257. Reinſtated in conſequence of a coalition of parties, 261.

Nottingham, Earl of, oppoſes the Peace of Utrecht, i. 72. Revives the occaſional conformity bill, 73. Conſtituted Preſident of the Council, 97. Reſigns, and oppoſes the ſeptennial bill, 116. Defends the doctrine of the Trinity againſt Profeſſor Whiſton, 201. Brings in a bill for the ſuppreſſion of hereſy and blaſphemy, 202. Ridiculed by Swift, 205.

O

Occaſional Conformity Bill paſſed by the Commons, and rejected by the Lords, i. 12. Again paſſed and rejected, 13. Paſſes into a law, 73. Repealed, 183.

Onſlow, Arthur, Eſq. choſen Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, i. 273. His animated addreſs to the King, ii. 243.

Orange, Prince of, marries the Princeſs-Royal of England, i. 356. His character, ibid. Declared Hereditary Stadtholder, ii. 98. His death, 192.

Orleans, Duke of, appointed Regent of France, i. 130. Enters into an alliance with the King of England, 131. Dies—his character, 230.

Ormond,

Ormond, Duke of, fails in his attempt on Cadiz, but takes Vigo, i. 11. Succeeds the Duke of Marlborough in the command of the army, 70. Co-operates with Prince Eugene, in the ſiege of Queſnoy, 75. Proclaims an armiſtice with France, ibid. Departs for England, ibid. Impeached of high treaſon, 101. Withdraws to the Continent, 102. Enters into the ſervice of the Pretender, 103. Appointed to the command of an armament for the invaſion of Great Britain, 158.

Oxford, Robert Harley, Earl of, diſmiſſed from his office of Secretary of State, i. 58. Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, 69. and Lord High Treaſurer, 71. His character, 78. Removed from his office, 83. Impeached of high treaſon, 101. His defence and commitment, 104. His acquittal, 173.

P

Palms, M. his inſolent memorial, i. 255. Ordered to depart the kingdom, 259.

Peerage Bill introduced, i. 185. and rejected, 186.

Pelham, Right Hon. Henry, Secretary at War, his character, i. 268. Appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, ii. 141. Reduces the intereſt of the public funds, 183. Patronizes the Jew-naturalization bill, 199. which is repealed, 200. His death, ibid. Review of his adminiſtration, ibid.

Peter the Great, his reſentment againſt the King of England, i. 139. 163. His death and character, 242.

Peter II. Emperor of Ruſſia, his acceſſion and death, i. 280.

Peter III. Emperor of Ruſſia, his depoſition and death, ii. 357, 358.

Peterborough, Earl of, conquers the kingdom of Valencia, i. 30. Reſigns his commiſſion in anger, 31. Oppoſes the bill for religious perſecution, 204.

Philip V. King of Spain, reſigns and reſumes his crown, i. 227, 228. His death, ii. 165.

Philip, Infant of Spain, enters Savoy, and takes Chamberri, ii. 28. Parma and Placentia ceded to him, 169.

Pitt, Right Hon. William, his ſpeech in ſupport of the motion of inquiry into the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, i. 51. His ſpeech in ſupport of the motion for diſcharging the Hanoverian mercenaries, 108. Appointed Paymaſter of the Forces,

ſel. His political character, 178. His obſervations on the Mutiny Bill, 181. On the right of ſearch, 186. Vehemently oppoſes a war on the Continent, and is diſmiſſed from his office, 234. Appointed Secretary of State, 257. Delivers a royal meſſage, which he does not ſupport, 258. A ſecond time diſmiſſed, 260. and again reinſtated, 261. His vigorous exertions, 263. Engages with ardor in the German war, 326. His reaſons, ibid.

Porteous, Captain, his remarkable execution, i. 365.

Pragmatic Sanction, edict ſo called, i. 231.

Pulteney, Right Hon. William, reſigns his office as Secretary at War, i. 136. Openly declares againſt the political ſyſtem of the Court, ibid. Oppoſes the alienation of the Sinking Fund, 260. Inveighs againſt grants for ſecret ſervice, 275. Expoſes the inconſiſtent politics of the Court, 312. His name ſtruck out of the liſt of Privy Counſellors, 319. His retroſpective view of the conduct of Sir Robert Walpole, ii. 39. Created Earl of Bath, and loſes the public confidence, 48. Oppoſes the repeal of the Septennial Act, 50.

Q

Quadruple alliance concluded, i. 144.

Quakers, act paſſed in their favour, i. 209.

Qualification-act, of Queen Anne, remarks upon it, ii. 372.

Quebec, city of, ſurrenders to the Engliſh, ii. 279.

R

Raymond, Sir Robert, his ſpeech againſt the Septennial Bill, i. 123.

Riot act paſſed, i. 168.

Ripperda, Duke of, his character and political projects, i. 239.

Robinſon, Sir Thomas, appointed Secretary of State, ii. 202. Delivers a meſſage from the King, 219. Reſigns his office, 236.

Rodney, Admiral Sir George, bombards the town of Havre-de-Grace, ii. 285.

Rooke,

INDEX.

Rooke, Admiral Sir George, captures the Spaniſh fleta in the port of Vigo, i. 11. Surprizes the fortreſs of Gibraltar, 26.

S

Sacheverel, Dr. his impeachment and its conſequences, 60. 68.

Sandys, Mr. revives the Place Bill, i. 344. His motion for the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, ii. 39. Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, 48. Oppoſes the repeal of the Septennial Act, 50. Oppoſes the Place Bill, 61. Reſigns his office, and is created a Peer, 141.

Sardinia, iſland of, conquered by Admiral Sir John Leake, i. 49. Ceded to the Emperor by the treaty of Al-Raſtadt, 77. Conquered by Spain, 143. Re-conquered by the Imperialiſts and Engliſh, 158. Transferred to the Houſe of Savoy in exchange for Sicily, 145. 160.

Saxe, Mareſchal, appointed commander in chief of the French army in Flanders, ii. 73. Captures Menin, Ypres, and Furnes, ibid. Inveſts Tournay, 87. Defeats the allies at Fontenoy, and reduces the greater part of Flanders, 88. Captures Antwerp and Mons, &c. 96. Defeats the allies at Roucoux, 96. Invades Dutch Flanders, 98. Defeats the allies at Laffeldt, 99. Detaches Count Lowendahl, who takes Bergen-op-Zoom, 101. Inveſts the city of Maeſtricht, 102.

Scarborough, Earl of, oppoſes a dangerous motion of the Duke of Marlborough, i. 343. His character, ibid.

Seaton, Mr. of Pitmeden, his ſpeech in favour of the Union, i. 38.

Security, act of, paſſed by the Scottiſh Parliament, i. 33.

Senegal, ſettlement of, reduced by Commodore Marſh, ii. 282.

Septennial act paſſed, i. 116. Attempt to repeal it, 338.

Seville, treaty of, i. 280.

Sherlock, Biſhop of Bangor, his remarkable declaration reſpecting regal influence, i. 297.

Shippen, William, his ſpeech againſt the Septennial Bill, i. 118. Againſt ſtanding armies, 151. Committed to the Tower, 154. His unbroken ſpirit, 156. Oppoſes the increaſe of the Civil Liſt revenue, 271. Oppoſes the farther continuance of the ſtanding army, 327. His ſpeech againſt unlimited votes of

credit, 346. His oppoſition to continental ſubſidies and connections, ii. 44, 45.

Sleſwick, Duchy of, guaranteed by Hanover to Denmark, i. 131. by Great Britain, 161. by the Emperor and Ruſſia, with remarkable attendant circumſtances, 306.

South Sea bill introduced and paſſed, i. 190. Its fatal conſequences, 192.

Su-rajah-Doula, his character and barbarous conduct, ii. 305. His defeat and death, 313.

Stair, Earl of, appointed ambaſſador to France, i. 131. Recalled, 189. His ſpirited vindication of his conduct, 190. Appointed Generaliſſimo of the continental army, ii. 58. Gains the battle of Dettingen, 65. Reſigns, 70. His character, ibid. Reinſtated in his offices, 91.

Staniſlaus, King of Poland, beſieged in Dantzic, i. 333.

Stanhope, General, conquers the iſland of Minorca, i. 49. Routs the Spaniſh cavalry at Almanara, 51. Surrounded and compelled to capitulate at Brihuega, 52. Appointed Manager at the impeachment of Sacheverel, 63. Advanced to the poſt of Secretary of State, 97. Impeaches the Duke of Ormond of high treaſon, 101. Delivers a remarkable meſſage from the King, 134. Made Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, which he ſoon reſigns, and is created an Earl, 172. Introduces a bill for the repeal of the occaſional conformity, teſt, and ſchiſm acts, 176. Another for the limitation of the peerage, 186. His death, 195.

Steinhorſt, Lordſhip of, difference between Denmark and Hanover reſpecting it, i. 382.

Strafford, Earl of, demands of the States the performance of their guarantee, i. 85. His impeachment, 101.

Sunderland, Earl of, removed from his office of Secretary of State, i. 64. Appointed to the Government of Ireland, 97. Succeeds Mr. Methuen as Secretary of State, 172. Appointed Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, ibid. Compelled to a precipitate and diſgraceful reſignation, 193. His death and character, 198.

Swift, Dean of St. Patrick, his inſolence, i. 278. His declaration concerning annual parliaments, ii. 152.

Sydenham, Mr. his ſpeech in ſupport of the motion for reſtoring annual parliaments, ii. 148.

T

Talbot, Lord, appointed Lord High Chancellor, i. 249. His death and character, ibid.

Tallard, Mareſchal, defeated and taken priſoner at Blenheim, i. 25.

Townſhend, Viſcount, made Secretary of State, i. 97. Appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but diſmiſſed from his office, 136. Appointed a ſecond time Secretary of State, 195. His character, 267.

Traun, Mareſchal, gains the battle of Campo Santo, ii. 29. His able conduct in Alſace, 74. and Bohemia, 77.

U

Unigenitus, bull ſo called, its origin and conſequences, ii. 207.

V

Vendome, Duc de, oppoſes with reputation the Duke of Marlborough in Flanders, i. 46. Defeated at Oudenarde, 48. Appointed to the chief command in Spain, and recovers Catalonia and Arragon, 52.

Vernon, Admiral, takes Porto Bello with ſix ſhips only, ii. 16. Fails in his attempt on Carthagena, 17.

Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia, exchanges Sicily for Sardinia, i. 147. Reſigns his crown, 280. He attempts in vain to reſume it, 325.

Villars, Mareſchal, defeated at Malplaquet, i. 50. His lines penetrated by the allied army, 54. Defeats the allies at Denain, 75. Takes Marchiennes, Douay, &c. ibid. Aſſumes the command of the army in Lombardy, 335. Expels the Imperialiſts from the Milaneſe, ibid. Dies, ibid.

Villeroy, Mareſchal, defeated at Ramilies, i. 28.

W

Wake, Archbiſhop of Canterbury, his declaration at the trial of Sacheverel, i. 65. His oppoſition to the repeal of the Teſt laws,

laws, &c. 177. Moves for the commitment of the bill againſt hereſy, 202. His death and character, 381.

Walpole, Sir Robert, appointed Manager at the trial of Sacheverel, i. 63. Choſen Chairman of the Secret Committee, 100. Impeaches Lord Bolingbroke of high treaſon, ibid. Succeeds the Earl of Hallifax as Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, but reſigns in diſguſt, 134. 168. Declaims againſt ſtanding armies, 151. againſt the continental politics of the Court, 156. Frames the project of the ſinking fund, 168. Oppoſes the bill for limiting the Peerage, 186. Declares againſt the South Sea bill, 192. Reinſtated in his office, 195. Moves for a ſubſidy to Sweden, 206. Diſcloſes to the Houſe of Commons the particulars of a conſpiracy againſt the Government, 212. Introduces a penal bill againſt the Roman Catholics, 220. His favor with the new King, 267. Propoſes an addition to the civil liſt, 271. Preſents a bill to Parliament againſt foreign loans, 268. His extraordinary defence of the meaſures recommended from the throne, 293. His political character delineated, 320, 321. His bill for the revival of the ſalt duties, 323. His direct alienation of the ſinking fund, 328. His exciſe bill, 329. Oppoſes, with ſingular ſagacity, the dangerous motion of Lord Morpeth, 340. Delivers a meſſage from the King, requiring an extraordinary vote of credit, 345. Oppoſes the repeal of the Teſt, 362. His motives, ibid. His reluctance to enter into a war with Spain, ii. 3. His maſterly vindication of the Convention ſigned at the Pardo, 6. Acts with vigor on the commencement of the war, 15. His ſpirited reply to the motion for his removal from office, 42. Is left in a minority in the new Parliament, and in danger of impeachment, 46. Reſigns his office, and is created Earl of Orford, 47. Parliamentary inquiry into his conduct, 50. Review of his adminiſtration, 53. His death, 158.

Walpole, Horace, his ſpeech in defence of the treaty of Hanover, i. 234. Defends the treaty of Vienna, 314. His ſingular aſſertion reſpecting the army, 327. His ſpeech in defence of votes of credit, 351. Moves for a ſubſidy to Denmark, 358. Known under the appellation of Balance-maſter, ibid.

Waſhington, Major, his ſpirited meſſage to the French governor on the Ohio, ii. 215. Defends with vigor a poſt on the Ohio, 218.

Watſon, Admiral, his naval operations, death and character, ii. 308—316.

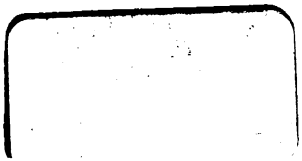
Wharton, Duke of, his malicious reflection on Lord Stanhope, 194. Oppoſes the hereſy bill, 202. Death and character, 203.

William, King, concludes with France the firſt and ſecon treaties of partition, i. 3, 4. Revives the grand alliance. Summons a parliament, ibid. His ſpeech, [illegible] and character, 8.

Wolfe, General, diſtinguiſhes himſelf at the ſiege of [illegible], ii. 271. Commands the expedition againſt Quebec, 274. His forces on the Iſle of Orleans, ibid. Attacks the enemy at the falls of Montmorenci, and is repulſed, 275. His apparently inſurmountable embarraſſments, 276. His daring and ſucceſsful attempt to gain the heights of Abraham, 277. Forces M. de Montcalm to a general engagement 278. His heroic death in the moment of victory, ibid.

Worms, treaty of, 66. Its abominable injuſtice, ibid.

Wyndham, Sir William, reprimanded by the Speaker, 99. Committed to the Tower, 107. His obſervations on the ſtate of affairs, 251. He oppoſes the alienation of the ſinking fund, 328. His memorable ſpeech on the motion for repealing the ſeptennial act, 338. His remarks on the Convention of Madrid, ii. 11. His death and character, 12.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

JUL 1 1 1941